



A landscape for everyone

Integrating rights-based and landscape governance approaches

Edited by Tom Blomley and Gretchen Walters



INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR CONSERVATION OF NATURE

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Foreword

Indigenous peoples and local communities are estimated to hold close to 65% of the world's land area under customary land systems (Rights and Resources Initiative, 2015), and yet their rights are recognised to a fraction of those lands by governments. This gap – between what is held by communities and what governments recognise – is a major driver of conflict, disrupted investments, environmental degradation and cultural extinction. In addition, there is growing evidence that indigenous peoples' rights, to land and benefit-sharing for example, are essential to meeting local and global conservation goals.

At the same time, we have seen an increase in environmental agencies and laws around the globe but tropical forest loss is at an all-time high. Over 12 million hectares of forest are lost each year, eroding their ability to maintain a favorable climate – at a cost of US\$ 2-5 trillion/year globally. Coupled with these environmental threats, we see increasing violence toward those who are defending and protecting our planet in the very landscapes we work. Between 2002 and 2013, 908 people including forest rangers, government inspectors, and local activists, were killed in 35 countries – and in 2017 alone, 201 environmental defenders were murdered, of which 40% were indigenous peoples.

There is a clear need within natural resource governance frameworks that we understand the complexities by which we work across landscapes and peoples to ensure that we are effectively supporting 'rights holders', those who tend to be poor and nature resource dependent, and hold 'duty bearers' such as local or national government agencies to account.

IUCN has been working on landscape governance for many years through various initiatives around the globe, consisting of a mix of land-cover and use types in both

natural and/or human modified ecosystems. These landscape approaches have become increasingly important to conservation and help to ensure the integration of broader issues into natural resource management such as social, economic and environmental goals, and the engagement of a diverse array of stakeholders and rights holders. Coupled with this, IUCN has made commitments to and is implementing rights-based approaches, which help deliver more equitable landscape governance and address rights in a more cohesive manner.

This publication comes at a very critical juncture as there have been noted advances in rights-based approaches to conservation, but at the same time, these advances and commitments from the conservation community have come into question in the past few years. In short, we need to move from commitment to practice. This publication does just that. It provides us the opportunity to understand landscape approaches in various contexts and understand, more clearly, rights-based approaches through a series of case studies and lessons learnt. It also explores the challenges and opportunities as well as what the peoples, organisations and institutions confront when integrating these approaches into landscape governance. Ideally, this publication will assist those developing landscape approaches or thinking about landscape governance. Finally, I hope this publication assists in closing the divide between conservation and human rights and demonstrates that processes can be shared, rights respected, and we can generate the capacities, political will and accountability mechanisms to uphold these rights and relationships – leading to successful landscape governance.

Kristen Walker Painemilla

*Chair, IUCN Commission on Environment,
Economics and Social Policy (2016-2020)*

Executive summary

Within a landscape of overlapping ecological, social and economic priorities, plans and programmes aim to balance land use dynamics to combine natural resource management with environmental and livelihood considerations. However, in striving to reach such a balance, people and local institutions are often excluded or forgotten. Many landscapes are not governed equitably and those within the landscape may not know their rights, how to exercise them or lack legal tenure over their land.

The integration of rights-based and landscape scale approaches to conservation and sustainable natural resource management leads to better landscape governance. Through evidence from several countries – in the areas of reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+), protected area conservation and sustainable growth corridor development – IUCN and partners demonstrate that rights-based approaches (RBAs), when integrated, adapted and adopted across societal levels and across landscapes, improve governance over natural resources. Although each approach is applied effectively in many circumstances, it is the combination of the two that creates the most equitable outcomes.

By working across geographic and political boundaries, landscape approaches integrate the interests of different stakeholders. Adopting such an approach requires looking at not only the physical landscape and the people in it, but also at the institutional conditions, laws, policies and customs that shape how people use natural resources in the landscape. Whereas RBAs ensure that both procedural and substantive rights of natural resource users, particularly marginalised communities, are respected, protected and promoted. Integrating the approaches balances the needs of different interest groups in decision-making, including those who have varying levels of influence

and political access, while also ensuring that communal and individual rights are recognised.

Findings in brief:

- For marginalised groups to engage effectively in landscape-level decision-making and defend their interests, it is essential that they understand their legal rights;
- For communities to hold leaders to account, they must access information on how decisions affecting their lives and resources were made, and money was spent;
- Where policies undermine rights-based landscape governance, rights holders need support to identify and negotiate policy reforms that transfer resource management responsibility locally, and improve transparency and accountability at all levels;
- Use of local language is essential to avoid exclusion, and mass communication channels are effective tools to reach and inform marginalised groups in a landscape;
- Effective institutions recognise the role of power in shaping policy discussions, taking deliberate measures to give voice and representation to those marginalised from decision-making processes such as women; and
- The application of a framework like IUCN's Natural Resource Governance Framework helps to integrate rights into organisational structures.

Challenges for integrating rights into landscape approaches remain. For rights to be recognised in landscapes, organisations, communities and local governments need to continue to work together to promote integrated and inclusive conservation and sustainable natural resource management governance systems.

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Chapter 1. Exploring the building blocks of landscape governance

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Chapter 2. The role of local institutions in national landscape governance

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Chapter 3. Transparency, access to information and accountability

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Chapter 4. Between policy and law: Discerning women's rights in landscape governance

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Chapter 5. Lessons learnt from rights-based approaches to landscape governance

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Acronyms

CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CECF	Community Environment Conservation Fund in Uganda
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CEESP	IUCN's Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy
CIHR	Conservation Initiative on Human Rights
CREMA	Community Resource Management Area (Ghana)
CSO	Civil society organisation
CSO-REDD&CC	Cameroon's National Civil Society Platform for REDD+ and Climate Change
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
ECOTRUST	The Environmental Conservation Trust of Uganda
ESMS	Environmental and Social Management System
FCPF	Forest Carbon Partnership Facility
FMU	Forest Management Unit
FPIC	Free, prior and informed consent
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
LMMA	Locally-managed marine area
M&E	Monitoring and evaluation
MPA	Marine protected area
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NRGF	Natural Resource Governance Framework
PWC	Pastoral Women's Council
RBA	Rights-based approach
REDD+	Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, forest carbon stock conservation, the sustainable management of forests, and the enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries
SAGCOT	Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
TGB	Trees for Global Benefits (Programme)
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNREDD	United Nations programme supporting efforts to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

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1 Exploring the building blocks of landscape governance

Gretchen Walters, Tom Blomley, George Akwah, Chris Buss, Jessica Campese, Jenny Springer

In recent decades, rights-based approaches (RBAs) as well as landscape-scale conservation have become popular strategies used by conservation organisations and other organisations, with the latter giving way to a strong focus on landscape approaches. Their increased prominence in conservation policy and practice over the last decade reflects a greater awareness of the connections between conservation and human rights. Tenets of a landscape approach have been applied for more than a century in several disciplines, including geography and landscape ecology. More recent global efforts, including the United Nation's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the growing number of private sector pledges to deforestation-free supply chains underscore the importance of innovative and holistic approaches to tackle development challenges across different land use types.

As various forest and broader landscape conservation efforts have developed (including efforts to reduce deforestation and forest degradation – REDD+), it has become clear that to be both just and effective, attention needs to be paid to integrating RBAs into governance frameworks. RBAs can help in delivering tangible environmental, economic, social and cultural benefits at local, national and global levels benefiting communities and indigenous peoples. RBAs have the unique potential to bring together different sectors in a geographic area to achieve positive sustainable development and conservation outcomes. But how do these two approaches on rights and landscapes work together and what do they achieve at the landscape scale?

In this chapter, we introduce the concepts of rights-based and landscape approaches and their relationship to landscape governance. Integrating an RBA into a landscape approach constitutes a strong step towards ensuring better landscape governance. At the end of the chapter, we lay out the structure and focus of this publication in greater detail.

1.1 Landscape approaches

The UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, with its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) aims to be transformative, universal and integrated in scope. The 2030 agenda aims to address the root causes of poverty and balance economic, social and environmental elements of sustainable development including tackling climate change.

It has become increasingly clear, however, that in order to achieve the global impact needed to tackle development challenges across different biomes and land use types, innovative approaches are needed to tackle these issues in a holistic way. In designing different approaches, consideration must be given to how to balance and optimise different land-use strategies considering multiple economic, environmental and social demands and complexities across varying spatial scales and across multiple sectoral programmes.

Landscape approaches are one proposed way to address conservation issues and rights beyond individual projects (see Box 1). The concept was first described in 19th century geography and 20th century landscape ecology, but started gaining popularity in conservation circles in the 1990s. More and more, the landscape approach is being viewed as a way to bring together different sectors in a geographic area to achieve positive sustainable development and conservation outcomes (Arts et al., 2017). More recently, the approach has been adopted by the private sector to promote zero net deforestation supply chains, many of which are anchored in landscape-level ecosystem services (Olam, 2018; van Oosten et al., 2017).

Landscape approaches can be understood as an attempt to overcome the lack of a multilevel approach and paucity of linkages across sectors and jurisdictions (Robinson and Kagombe, 2018) by working across

BOX 1 : What is a landscape?

A landscape is a concept that joins the social and biological sciences and is a space shaped by decision-making processes (Agnoletti, 2017), and will continue to be shaped as they evolve in the future. Tropenbos International and EcoAgriculture Partners define a landscape as:

“A socio-ecological system that consists of a mosaic of natural and/or human modified ecosystems, with a characteristic configuration of topography, vegetation, land use, and settlements that is influenced by the ecological, historical, economic and cultural processes and activities of the area. The mix of land cover and use types (landscape composition) usually includes agricultural lands, native vegetation, and human dwellings, villages and/or urban areas. The spatial arrangement of different land uses and cover types (landscape structure) and the norms and modalities of its governance contribute to the character of a landscape. Depending on the management objectives of the stakeholders, landscape boundaries may be discrete or fuzzy, and may correspond to watershed boundaries, distinct land features, and/or jurisdictional boundaries, or cross-cut such demarcations. A landscape may encompass areas from hundreds to tens of thousands of square kilometres (Scherr et al., 2013).”

“A landscape is not just any geographical area. People and natural processes must have something in common for the area to be called a landscape...therefore; a landscape is defined as a geographical area that is coherent and multi-functional. Coherence in the landscape comes from natural and/or socio-economic processes that link actors, areas and other components across the landscape. At the same time... landscapes ... are multi-functional – where there are a range of land uses, claims on the land, stakeholder interests and governing institutions (Graaf et al., 2017).”

geographical areas where various stakeholders and their interests are connected through socio-economic and ecological relationships. Adopting such an approach requires looking at not only the physical landscape and the people in it but also the institutional conditions that is the laws, policies and local customs that shape how local people use the landscape's natural resources (IUCN, 2012). Often seen as sets of overlapping ecological, social and economic networks within a specific area, landscapes can be an ideal unit for planning and decision-making, allowing the integration of various sector plans and programmes across one social, environmental and spatial context. Adopting a landscape approach to achieve varying aims can help trigger change through a multi-functional perspective, combining natural resources management with environmental

and livelihood considerations. People and their institutions are an integral part of the system rather than as external agents operating within a landscape.

Landscape approaches encompass a range of different models and methods. Country resource managers with strong institutions, plenty of knowledge and an ability to enforce agreements see the landscape approach as a *technical* challenge where experts design an optimal landscape. People working in countries with weak institutions, a poor knowledge base and challenges to enforcing agreements see landscape approaches as more of a social challenge, bringing actors together around decision-making on common natural resource or conservation issues. These parallel schools of thought contain differences both in how decisions are made and how the landscape

BOX 2 :: The 10 principles of landscape approaches

Researchers from 12 research and practice-oriented institutions proposed the following 10 principles to reconcile agriculture, conservation and other competing land uses when implementing landscape approaches:

1. Continual learning and adaptive management
2. Common concern entry point
3. Multiple scales
4. Multi-functionality
5. Multiple stakeholders
6. Negotiated and transparent change logic
7. Clarification of rights and responsibilities
8. Participatory and user-friendly monitoring
9. Resilience
10. Strengthened stakeholder capacity

Source: Sayer et al., 2013

is divided. All may have their merits when implemented in the right context (Sayer & Dudley, 2008).

The publication *Ten Principles for a Landscape Approach to Reconciling Agriculture, Conservation, and Other Competing Land Uses* (Sayer et al, 2013) proposes 10 principles to guide landscape approaches that reflect the participatory nature of landscape governance (see Box 2). These principles can guide landscape level decision-making processes in a democratic, transparent and informed way, taking into account the interests of the various stakeholders involved. This approach tries to build bridges between institutional silos, and to integrate different policy fields in order to achieve coherent spatial planning mechanisms relevant to a given context, thus bringing spatial decision-making closer to those directly affected by those decisions.

The 10 principles are based on the understanding that landscapes are multifunctional, which implies that landscape governance strives for the achievement of multiple objectives, through a participatory and inclusive process of negotiation, deliberation, trade-offs, adaptation and adaptive learning. The principles emphasise the importance of integrating agricultural and environmental priorities, requiring a people-centred approach developed and applied at the landscape level. Such a process is rarely predictable, and requires constant adaptive management, rather than being carefully designed and planned (Sayer et al., 2008).

In landscapes designed to spatially segregate protected and productive areas, often the predominant paradigm of conservation or environmental engineering, does not preclude adopting a landscape approach (Sayer et al,

2013). However, single-sector approaches to implementing the landscape approach remain common, such as those just focusing on forests or watersheds (Reed et al., 2016) or conservation planning (Melo et al., 2013), while still failing to address wider landscape issues.

Several of the principles of landscape approaches (Box 2) focus specifically on governance and rights. Principle 7 addresses the clarification of rights and responsibilities, including access to justice; Principle 5 focuses on the recognition of multiple stakeholders as well as equity; and Principle 8, though focused on monitoring, relates to access of information. These are key links from landscape approaches and governance that are reflected in many RBAs grounded in respect, and the protection and promotion of peoples' individual and collective rights, including those within international human rights standards (HRBA Portal; Campese, 2009). One of the enablers of an RBA at the landscape scale is landscape governance. We will return later in this chapter to landscape governance, but first let us discuss RBAs. RBAs have been developed in parallel to landscape approaches, and the next section provides an overview of the history of RBAs.

1.2 Rights-based approaches in conservation and natural resource management

RBAs have gained increasing prominence in conservation practice over the past 10–15 years (Campese et al., 2009; Franks et al., 2018; Greiber et al., 2009; Jonas et al., 2016; Knox, 2017; Malmer et al., 2018; Springer & Campese, 2011; Tauli-Corpuz, 2016; CIHR website) reflecting the mainstreaming of RBAs in development as well as increased awareness of the connections between conservation and human rights concerns. In particular, there is growing recognition that a healthy environment underpins the realisation of many human rights (UN Human Rights Council, 2018), while the realisation of rights – such as the rights to participation and customary tenure – can

provide an important foundation for more effective conservation (Knox, 2017; RRI, 2017).

Alongside these positive links, there is also growing awareness that conservation activities can generate negative impacts where human rights are not taken into account, and that weak fulfilment of rights can undermine conservation outcomes (Knox, 2017; Makageon et al., 2014; Malmer et al., 2018; Springer & Campese, 2011; Tauli-Corpuz, 2016). These linkages between rights and conservation underpin multiple motivations for an RBA, including:

Obligation: Conservation actors have responsibilities in relation to rights, and RBAs help ensure duty bearers uphold their obligations;

Equitable social outcomes: RBAs (including in connection with broader considerations of good natural resource governance) can help ensure equitable conservation processes and outcomes that positively contribute to social well-being; and

Good conservation outcomes: RBAs (including those in connection with broader considerations of good natural resource governance) can help ensure better conservation outcomes.

Human rights standards that underpin an RBA include, in particular, international human rights frameworks that have been developed and adopted through decisions of the United Nations, such as the UN Declaration on Human Rights and associated covenants, and instruments articulating the rights of indigenous peoples, women and children. Rights with particular relevance in the context of conservation actions include (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2014; Jonas et al., 2016; Springer & Campese, 2011):

Procedural rights that focus on access to processes through which people can claim their rights, such as rights to information, participation and access to justice; and

Substantive rights that are concerned with the foundations for human well-being, such as rights to life, health, food and water, lands and resources, development; and the right to practice one's culture.

In light of their particular attachments to lands, territories and natural resources, the rights of indigenous peoples are highly relevant to conservation contexts and activities. Rights adopted through frameworks such as International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169¹ and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) that are especially prominent in conservation contexts include rights to:

- Lands, territories and resources;
- Conservation and protection of the environment and the productive capacity of their lands;
- Self-determination and free, prior and informed consent (FPIC);
- Control of lands and resources through customary institutions and laws;
- Development and equitable benefit sharing; and
- Traditional knowledge and to redress for deprivation of the means of subsistence and development (UNDRIP; ILO 169).

In addition to being grounded in human rights standards, RBAs are centrally concerned with reciprocal relationships of accountability between rights holders and duty bearers. Under the international human rights system, states are recognised as primary duty bearers. At the same

time, it is increasingly understood that non-state actors, including businesses (UN, 2011), and non-governmental actors (Makageon et al., 2014; Jonas et al., 2016), have human rights accountabilities and so are also duty bearers.

While conservation practice continues to raise rights concerns in many instances (Bennett, 2018; Beymar-Farris & Bassett, 2012; Dowie, 2011; Knox, 2017; Malmer et al., 2018; Martin et al., 2016; Tauli-Corpuz, 2016), IUCN's on-going work towards an RBA is only one of a number of examples demonstrating progress on understanding and addressing rights issues in the conservation context. For example, the Conservation Initiative on Human Rights (CIHR) is a group of seven of the largest international conservation non-governmental organisations (NGOs)² that have committed to, "improv[ing] the practice of conservation by promoting the integration of human rights in conservation policy and practice," ([CIHR website](#)). They have agreed on a common set of broad principles to: "respect human rights..., promote human rights within conservation practice..., protect the vulnerable..., [and] encourage good governance," to be implemented in ways defined by each organisation, "tak[ing] into consideration their individual needs and realities," (CIHR website).

To date, organisations have taken a variety of approaches from having an overarching RBA policy (such as IUCN) to developing policies or guidance on specific rights issues including FPIC, enhancing staff capacity, developing specific RBA implementation programmes or plans ([CIHR website](#)).

In the case of many development-focused organisations (ie. Oxfam and Care International),

1 The ILO 169 is the International Labor Organization's Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, ratified in 1989. It is the only international treaty open for ratification that deals exclusively with indigenous peoples' rights. Although only ratified by 23 countries to date, it is the only international law for indigenous peoples. It recognises their rights to land ownership, to self-determination, and to be consulted about projects which impact them.

2 The seven organisations involved in CIHR are: BirdLife International, Conservation International, Fauna & Flora International, The Nature Conservancy, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, the Wildlife Conservation Society, and the World Wide Fund for Nature.

as well as some donors, such as the UK's Department for International Development and the Danish International Development Agency, the process of developing an institutional/organisational RBA has preceded, informed, and in some cases, directly supported the development of such approaches within the conservation sector.

While there are many substantive benefits and motivations for implementing RBAs in the context of conservation, there are also substantial challenges and risks. These include (and are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5):

- Addressing power dynamics and historical institutional legacies;
- Ensuring rights and conservation outcomes are addressed;
- Enabling horizontal connections across governance levels;
- Recognising traditional knowledge;
- Addressing the perceptions of rights holders and stakeholders;
- Enabling transformative learning to transform how rights are addressed; and
- Embedding rights as part of a comprehensive assessment of governance.

Beyond these challenges, it is critical to ensure that RBAs are robust and meaningful, and avoid repackaging business-as-usual approaches (Broberg & Sano, 2018). This does not mean that RBAs cannot develop and grow over time. As shown in this publication, they often do. Nonetheless, if the potential benefits of RBAs are to be realised, it is important that duty bearers work together with rights holders with integrity, transparency, and accountability towards comprehensive and genuine respect and promotion of rights.

Rights are pluralistic, and include the full spectrum of law, including individual and collective rights enshrined in international law



(Jonas et al., 2016; Nelson & Dorsey, 2017), as well as national and customary law (FPP et al., 2016; Kothari et al., 2012; RRI, 2017). Blomley et al. (2009) note that an exclusive focus on statutory rights and state legal systems can be an obstacle because, *inter alia*, such laws may not be widely applied or understood. Also, customary laws may be more important, for example, in conflict resolution, and the focus on state-citizen relationships can de-emphasise the roles of other duty bearers. Different systems of rights are also often overlapping, including insofar as UNDRIP recognises indigenous peoples' right to self-determination under customary systems.

RBAs can involve a wide range of approaches on the part of rights holders, duty bearers, and other actors, including compliance with human rights standards, programming changes within organisations, advocacy and legal approaches (Nelson & Dorsey, 2018). RBAs may also support the recognition by state and other actors of customary or traditional rights through statutory mechanisms.

When procedural and substantive rights are mapped across a landscape, overlaps and

potential points of conflict or synergy can be identified. It may be that an RBA is most effective and complete when operating across levels, with the landscape level connecting the site horizontally to other sites, and vertically to higher levels within a country. It is these inter-related systems that shape conservation and rights.

RBAs can be implemented at multiple scales and contexts and are a way to promote inclusivity in conservation (Campese et al., 2009). This suggests that RBAs can have different implications and impact at different scales for rights holders and stakeholders. What happens at a local scale can be driven by issues and policies occurring at other scales (Berkes, 2010). For example, when an RBA is conducted at the site level, the impact for local people will largely remain at the site level, such as when clarifying resource use and access rights of various stakeholders and rights holders in the context of developing a collaborative management plan for a protected area. This is an important level of implementation and complementary to RBAs at higher levels, especially considering that it is where the recognition of rights will have a direct impact, for example on land tenure or resource use.

However, using an RBA at the landscape level could potentially have a geographically larger impact for rights holders and duty bearers. For example, enabling dialogue about the rights to natural resources with rights holders and stakeholders across a landscape might allow decisions from national policy to be recognised, understood and respected at a larger scale. This may be particularly important when trying to resolve conflicts over resources in adjacent areas. At an even higher level, national and international laws and policies about rights can have a deep impact at the site level, if enforced. In addition to the vertical connections of rights from site to landscape to national scales, connections horizontally within the landscape (across institutions, stakeholders and rights holders) also become

important for implementing an RBA at the landscape level.

In this sense, rights cut across geographical levels, with different sectors interacting across a landscape to impact multiple levels. Thus, the scale at which RBAs are applied becomes important when trying to address issues at scales larger than the site of a typical conservation intervention. When RBAs are combined with landscape approaches, governance at the landscape level is supported, as we will see in the next section. Whether using an RBA or a landscape approach, good governance is critical for helping stakeholders balance optimal use, social pressures and trade-offs on land use. Focusing on landscape governance can support the implementation of landscape approaches, since landscape governance underpins processes of multisector, multi-actor and multilevel interactions and spatial decision-making at the landscape level.

1.3 Linking rights and landscape governance

Landscape governance is, “concerned with the institutional arrangements, decision-making processes, policy instruments and underlying values in the system by which multiple actors pursue their interests in sustainable food production, biodiversity and ecosystem service conservation and livelihood security in multifunctional landscapes.” (Kozar et al., 2014, emphasis by authors).

When employing an RBA at the landscape scale, the decision-making spaces, processes, and institutions become the vehicle through which rights holders and stakeholders come together to discuss, recognise and act on rights. Therefore, landscape governance simultaneously deals with socially-constructed places (Görg, 2007) and the ecosystems in which they operate.

It is through structures, institutions and processes that governance operates and

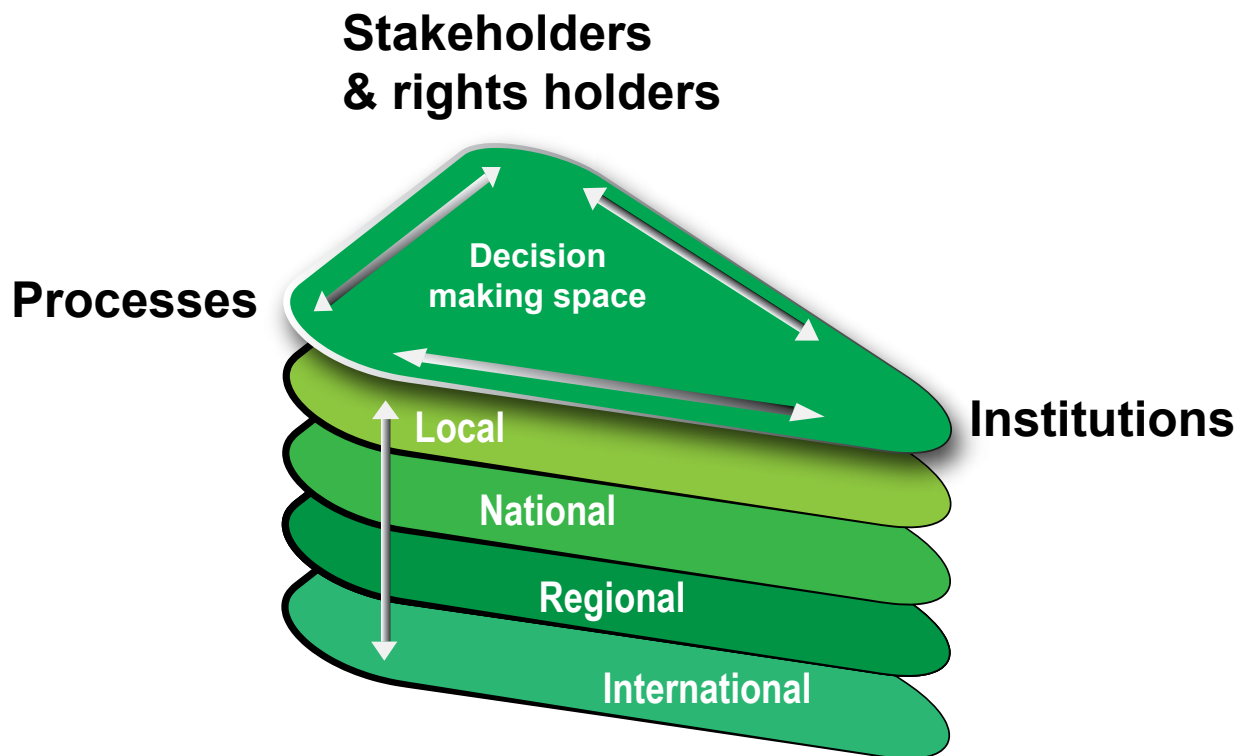


Figure 1. The structure of landscape governance

Source: Adapted from Mansourian et al., 2014

so creates a decision-making space at the landscape scale which can enable the recognition of rights by rights holders and stakeholders (see Figure 1). Poor or inappropriate governance of natural resources or conservation can have negative social impacts on local rights holders, for example, where there is insufficient implementation of policies and laws, poor engagement or weak participation, lack of recognition of and respect for marginalised populations, insecure tenure, or lack of access to information and justice, among other issues. Where there are successes in landscape approaches, polycentric governance³ and stakeholder engagement have been key, though the details of their enabling governance structures and institutions are rarely described (Reed et al., 2017).

Improving governance can contribute to enhanced conservation outcomes (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2013; Bennett & Dearden,

2014; Oldekop et al., 2016; Leisher et al., 2007) (see Figure 2). It is in this sense that a landscape approach and its associated governance systems can enable an RBA, addressing power, responsibility and accountability, and allowing rights to be addressed as part of a dynamic process (Campese & Borrini-Feyerabend, 2011). Without combining the landscape approach with an RBA, it will be difficult to work on rights at the landscape scale with any consistency.

At the same time, RBAs, “are shaped by broader systems of governance and power,” (Campese et al., 2009). The places in which RBAs are typically carried out are situated in landscapes, which have a broad historical and cultural context. It is important to consider not only the historical and current decisions impacting the landscape itself, but also the inter-relationships between rights holders, duty bearers, and other stakeholders in those decision-making processes. All human beings

³ This refers to governance systems that have multiple centres of decision-making (Ostrom et al., 1961), such as the diverse organisations which make decisions in a landscape.

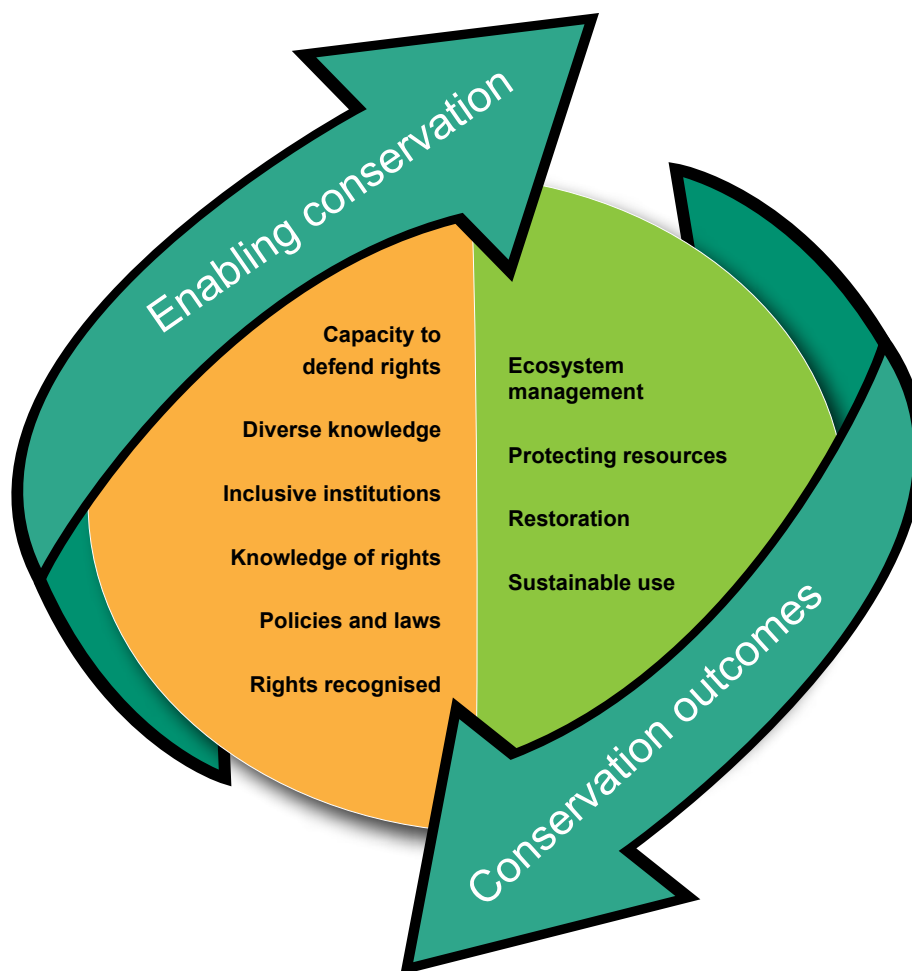


Figure 2. Enabling conservation requires good governance

Source: Walters et al., 2019

are rights holders, although the social dynamics of unequal power mean that some groups are particularly vulnerable to risks of infringement on their rights. Duty bearers are those responsible for respecting, protecting and/or promoting rights.

An example of how decisions impact a landscape including its biodiversity and land-use can be found in many African cultural landscapes, where customary institutions have been strongly impacted by colonial policies which changed the way landscapes were governed and resources were used (Laris & Wardell, 2006; Oyono et al. 2005). This resulted in a physical change in the landscape itself. In the case of the savannahs of the Bateke Plateaux of central Africa, the decision-making of customary authorities and communities on how to manage their resources through

fire were severely restricted by colonial and later state authorities, leading to a massive change in the customary burn cycle and by consequence, the vegetation and biodiversity of the fire-dependent savannah (Walters, 2015, 2012). Other changes in landscapes and their management can be found in many parts of the world where policies favour urbanisation or a change in agricultural production, as in the case of Europe (Tieskens et al., 2017).

In an example of the inter-relationship of rights holders and stakeholders in the decision-making process, historical conflicts over land tenure and resource use may have led to some rights holders being evicted from their lands or mistreated. In some cases, this resulted in difficulties in engaging with the affected communities in conservation initiatives. One such case from Ghana is explored in Chapter 2.

Historical legacies of colonialism and the rescinding of rights of forest inhabitants can later impact their agency to uphold their rights (Kashwan, 2017). When such events have occurred across a landscape, it can leave significant issues unresolved for the people involved, and require conflict resolution, using tools such as the Whakatane Mechanism (Freudenthal et al., 2012), which seeks to use place-based dialogue with impacted local people and conservation actors to address and resolve problems.

Other conflicts across a landscape may include lack of recognition of indigenous peoples and their knowledge, poor practice by conservation organisations, out-dated policies and law, resource competition, injustice, and poverty and development (Malmer et al., 2018). In working with landscape governance, particularly with dialogues and multi-stakeholder platforms, such as those organised by The Forests Dialogue (The Forests Dialogue, 2018), it will be important to have tools that can enable dialogues or assess a governance context so as to identify actions to improve the situation (the latter we revisit in Chapter 5).

Landscape governance intersects in several ways with the implementation of RBAs in conservation, especially when examining how key RBA principles are affected by scale. For example, access to information, when concerning landscape level or higher issues, also forms an important RBA principle that can be addressed through landscape governance. In many cases, informing constituents of the outcomes of processes wherein they were represented or in which they participate is critical to the participatory process (Akwah Neba et al., 2018). Access to information, awareness-raising activities and capacity strengthening, when required, and transparent participation procedures are central to achieve full participation in decision-making processes (Springer, 2016). These aspects will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 3.

Accountability is also critical for the governance of any natural resource management system, providing the regulatory feedback that prevents overuse of natural resources and abuse of people. This principle is particularly relevant in landscapes. It can involve accountability between actors at the same level (horizontally), vertically (hierarchically), or diagonally, such as the case of NGOs that try to hold other actors accountable (Nuesiri, 2017). This will be explored in depth in Chapter 2.

1.4 IUCN's rights-based approach to landscape governance

RBAs are becoming integrated in conservation policy and practice in several ways within IUCN and other organisations. Since the mid-1990s, IUCN has developed a series of policies, resolutions and standards on human rights issues and conservation that articulate IUCN's accountabilities with regard to an RBA (Springer & Boe, 2016). IUCN's Policy Framework on RBAs includes institutional policies on indigenous peoples and conservation, social equity in conservation, gender and an overarching policy, adopted in 2012 on conservation and human rights for sustainable development. Rights standards have been further integrated into the Environmental and Social Management Standards adopted by IUCN in 2014, which define requirements for IUCN projects to guard against risks to people and the environment, and explored further in the final Chapter. Rights principles have also been integrated in programmatic standards and guidance such as the IUCN Natural Resource Governance Framework (Springer, 2016), which seeks to promote RBAs in the context of land and resource governance, as discussed below and in Chapter 5.

Since 2009, and with support of the Danish International Development Agency and of Germany's Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety,

IUCN has engaged with partners in Cameroon, Ghana, Guatemala, Indonesia, Mexico, Peru and Uganda to pilot and scale up frameworks and mechanisms that support and deliver RBAs. After nine years of implementation of the RBA within forest landscapes, some lessons have emerged from IUCN and partners' practice.

The majority of this work was initiated through a mechanism under the United Nations Framework Convention for Climate Change (UNFCCC) that offers results-based payments to developing countries for reducing their emissions of greenhouse gases from deforestation and forest degradation. Commonly referred to as REDD+, this mechanism initially only focused on measuring carbon and developing monitoring systems. However, over the past decade, the rhetoric has shifted towards how REDD+ can impact or address tenure issues, development and governance (Anderson & Zerriffi, 2012; Leach & Scoones, 2014; Ece et al., 2017).

REDD+ efforts began to seriously consider impacts on local communities and integrate safeguards to ensure good implementation of projects. This is when the pro-poor approach was adapted from other mainstream development sectors to help deliver meaningful environmental and social benefits within REDD+ strategies. This approach helped to take into account the possible impacts on the poor and most vulnerable, as well as the potential contributions these stakeholders can make.

IUCN and many other organisations used this pro-poor approach, and developed principles (IUCN, 2014) to draw attention to the interests of forest-dependent people in REDD+ preparation and implementation. These principles underscored the need for REDD+ to do no harm to vulnerable groups, as well as the need to strengthen their rights and improve their livelihoods when developing REDD+ strategies.

Later IUCN work went beyond these principles, focusing on specific aspects of RBAs such as

accountability, participation and inclusion, non-discrimination and equity, and transparency and access to information (which are explored later in depth). At the same time, IUCN began developing its Natural Resource Governance Framework in 2012 and published its draft design in 2016. This framework aims to consolidate governance practice within IUCN and provide a coherent way forward in future initiatives (more on this in Chapter 5).

1.5 A diversity of rights-based approaches

Nelson and Dorsey (2017) note that, “development agencies collectively have done little to clarify a definition or methodology of RBA.” There is also no strict consensus on what an RBA is, or requires, in the context of conservation and natural resource governance. The multiple ways to implement an RBA include the programmatic approach (explored in the next section), compliance, legal processes, and advocacy. In reference to the programmatic approach, the lack of a clear definition and guidance can also be a challenge to the strength of RBAs. In some cases, there may be a risk of calling a project a “rights-based approach” project by an organisation, when it may just be following good conservation practice, the latter of which contains elements of an RBA. It must be clear how RBAs are being operationalised in practice in the programmatic approach. While good conservation practice may seek to benefit stakeholders in a variety of ways, it likely does not focus on rights explicitly. There are a variety of ways in which organisations can work on RBAs including through:

- Programmatic approaches within organisations;
- Approaches that emphasise compliance;
- Approaches that support legal processes; and

Table 1. Comparing a rights-based approach and traditional conservation practice

	Rights-based approach	Traditional conservation practice
Project view of people	People are rights holders and can claim rights. Duty bearers fulfil obligations.	People are passive recipients of benefits.
Role of duty bearers and rights holders	Duty bearers are enabled to act to enforce rights.	Rights holders may not be empowered to demand rights.
Level of participation	Rights holders' access to services is facilitated. Participation, empowerment and agency are fostered.	Organisations support participatory analyses.
How project deals with poverty and its underpinnings	Project moves beyond basic needs and addresses marginalisation and vulnerability.	Projects seek to combat poverty and address basic needs.
Level of engagement with decision-makers	Decision-makers are encouraged to improve conditions of target groups. Capacity to participate in decision-making is strengthened.	Little engagement with decision-makers. Local organisations build their capacities to understand legal frameworks.

Source: Broberg & Sano, 2018

- Approaches that advocate about rights (Gauri & Gloppen, 2012, cited in Nelson & Dorsey, 2018).⁴

Although this publication largely focuses on the programmatic approach (see next section) to RBA in conservation, there is a need for the other three types, as no single approach will be appropriate in all contexts. This diversity of approaches is essential to ensuring the implementation of RBAs. Different approaches can be used in different contexts or together to provide mutual reinforcement, often by different agencies.

▪ Programmatic approach

The programmatic approach occurs when an organisation tries to bring RBAs into the heart of their organisational thinking and project

implementation. It constitutes a departure from traditional practice, including a significant shift from focusing on beneficiaries with needs to collaborating with rights holders with rights (Blomley et al., 2009). Specific examples of these differences, from development and conservation practice, can be seen in Table 1.

In the early 2000s, many development organisations were adopting an RBA (Nelson & Dorsey, 2018). This was brought together in 2003 as a common understanding among UN agencies on how to implement RBAs (UNDG Human Rights Working Group, 2003). However, with the significant shift in focus by donors to finance the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals, this common understanding shifted away focus from RBAs and issues around accountability or inequality

⁴ This typology bears semblance to the role that the variety of conservation approaches can play, and likely in a way that is necessary and complementary. These conservation approaches include government, governance, coordination, minority action and revolution (Mermet et al., 2013).

(Nelson & Dorsey, 2018). Nonetheless, a few key donors who also focused on the environmental sector continued to consider RBAs. In this context, IUCN was chosen to implement an RBA by several donors, in the wider context of the commitment that IUCN has to RBA, through its resolutions (which are thematic priorities democratically chosen by IUCN members). Danida's 2012 Strategy, entitled *The Right to a Better Life*, clearly defined their vision for this work (The Danish Government, 2012), and chose IUCN to implement an RBA project to help demonstrate how RBAs could be implemented on the ground.

▪ Compliance approach

Compliance approaches represent the minimum effort that an organisation can do. As we discuss in Chapter 4 on gender, many organisations may apply a 'do no harm' principle to working on rights or gender, as required by their institutional rules or laws. A good example of compliance is the IUCN

Environmental and Social Management System (ESMS) which ensures that all IUCN projects respect a minimum set of guidelines, including about the rights of people, including land tenure and resource use and access (see Box 3). At the other end of the spectrum of a compliance approach is a comprehensive governance assessment about rights, which is explored in Chapter 5.

▪ Legal approach

Legal approaches to RBAs are also important (Greiber et al., 2009) and include 'harder' (or more direct) approaches such as public interest litigation and court action against duty bearers who are infringing rights, as well as softer approaches of influencing and shaping laws, and building legal literacy. In Chapter 4 on gender and equity, it will be shown that organisations could do more to advocate for women's rights, including through being aware of the law, helping inform stakeholders about their legal rights, and supporting a minimum

BOX 3 :: IUCN's Environmental and Social Management System

The IUCN Environmental and Social Management System (ESMS) includes a set of standards that consolidate IUCN environmental and social policies. Specifically, ESMS is a series of existing IUCN policies and IUCN resolutions, guidelines and instruments developed over time, as well as prevailing practice in implementing these in projects. All projects are now systematically screened for rights issues. Moreover, the ESMS lays out a series of principles stemming from IUCN's policies and resolutions, guidelines and instruments, as well as current practice. These principles are rooted in IUCN's understanding of the implications of conservation actions for social and rights issues. Principles include gender equality and women's empowerment, equality and non-discrimination, among others.

Early observations about the implementation of the ESMS to screen projects suggests that there may be an increased focus on ensuring the rights of people in the landscapes in which projects are implemented. It also draws attention, early on in project development, to the necessity of implementing projects which do not infringe on rights. Although projects are not always RBA projects and the ESMS is only a safeguard system, its existence demonstrates the commitment of IUCN and other organisations to ensuring better conservation practice. By contrast, there are other tools which go further to ensure an RBA or the adherence to governance principles, through governance assessments, such as IUCN's Natural Resource Governance Framework.

Source: IUCN 2016b (ESMS)

uptake of the law. In order to make projects more gender-responsive, frameworks for planning projects can be used (Aguilar, 2013). A step forward would be moving beyond mainstreaming gender into debates to focusing on the legal basis of women's rights and ways to support their enforcement.

▪ Rights advocacy

The final approach to RBAs is rights advocacy. Programmatic or legalistic approaches to RBAs may be insufficient to address rights due to a prevailing environment of poor governance and low levels of public transparency. In such situations, more confrontational approaches are needed. For example, the work of some international NGOs, such as Greenpeace and Global Witness, aims to 'name and shame' those individuals or institutions that are seen to be undermining human rights, transparency and rule of law. This work is often complemented by national NGOs working to mobilise citizen actions, public demonstrations and press coverage that increases public pressure on duty bearers (Kashwan, 2013). However, international organisations are not the only ones adopting an RBA through advocacy (Campese et al., 2009). RBAs have also been taken up by numerous grassroots efforts, forest rights advocates

and indigenous peoples' groups, with some differences (Sikor & Stahl, 2011) (see Box 4).

1.6 Publication overview

This publication draws on the work of IUCN and its members and partners in several countries, including Cameroon, Ghana, Guatemala, Indonesian Papua, Mexico, Peru, Tanzania and Uganda in the areas of reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+), protected area conservation and sustainable growth corridor development. This work has helped to demonstrate how RBAs can be implemented at local, landscape and national levels within the context of landscape governance (see Box 5). In this publication we will explore key aspects of an RBA, in light of work done thus far. Specifically, we will explore accountability, participation and inclusion, non-discrimination, equity, gender, and access to information. Each of these issues will be further discussed and contextualised in the following chapters.

This publication is comprised of five chapters. Chapter 2 explores participation and inclusion, and the role of local institutions in landscape governance, with examples from Cameroon, Ghana and Uganda. Chapter 3

BOX 4 : Rights-based approaches by indigenous peoples and rights advocates

Indigenous groups and forest rights advocates, through numerous grassroots initiatives, are also driving a rights agenda in conservation. However, the emphasis of rights can be very different from what has been explored in this publication.

- Redistribution is of high importance. This includes a large demand for redistribution of land to address historical injustices.
- The bottom-up nature of the grassroots initiatives means that their legitimacy is not driven by international organisations or rights norms.
- Rights advocates work on both collective and individual rights together, rather than focusing on one versus the other.

Source: Excerpt from Sikor et al., 2011

BOX 5 :: IUCN projects referenced in this publication

The Towards Pro-poor REDD+ Project was implemented by IUCN and partners in selected landscapes of Cameroon, Ghana, Guatemala, Papua Province of Indonesia and Uganda. The project tested and developed rights-based and pro-poor landscape governance approaches with a view to integrate these models in national and subnational REDD+ plans, policies and measures.

The REDD+ Benefit Sharing Project was implemented in Ghana, Mexico and Peru and was engaged in identifying, testing and promoting efficient and equitable REDD+ benefit sharing arrangements at national and subnational levels.

The SUSTAIN project works in African growth corridors to promote sustainable solutions of clean water supplies, social inclusion, climate change resilience and new business models.

explores issues of access to information, transparency and accountability in all key aspects of RBAs, with examples from Indonesia, Tanzania and Uganda. Chapter 4 looks at gender considerations in landscape governance, as well as gender mainstreaming and gender equality as a substantive right.

Finally, Chapter 5 draws conclusions from the previous chapters, introduces IUCN's Natural Resource Governance Framework and explores challenges and opportunities for integrating RBAs into landscape governance and ultimately the landscape approach.



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2 The role of local institutions in national landscape governance

Tom Blomley, Saadia Bobtoya, Mengina Gilli, Dorcas Gyimah Owusu

As we saw in Chapter 1, a rights-based approach to landscape governance involves working across geographical areas where various stakeholders and their interests are connected through socio-economic and ecological relationships. These stakeholders usually participate in landscape governance through institutions, whether formal, informal, or customary. Institutions provide the forum through which views can be articulated, concerns raised, trade-offs explored and agreements negotiated that reflect social, economic as well as environmental goals.

Using the language of RBAs, such institutions provide the basis for rights holders to be empowered and to work with duty bearers in the development and enforcement of rules for landscape governance. In this chapter, we explore the value of connecting rights-based landscape governance activities at local and national levels.

2.1 Connecting local and national landscape governance

In the 1990s, natural resource management practice was characterised by a strong shift towards decentralisation and devolution, with the underlying assumption that transferring decision-making authority closer to those responsible for management would result in more effective, sustainable and equitable outcomes (Ribot & Larson, 2005). Community-based natural resource management was strongly promoted in many countries with notable successes in Nepal, Tanzania (community forestry), and Zimbabwe and Zambia (community-based wildlife management) (Blomley & Ramadhani, 2006; Murphree, 2005; Hulme & Murphree, 2001).

Local institutions, with a legal mandate from central government, were established with broad representation and provided with opportunities for regulating natural resource protection, use and management, sharing of benefits and monitoring of ecosystem health. In some cases, institutions were created from the ground up, with few legitimate links to formal processes or structures. This has resulted in duplication of effort, competition with existing (and often unfunded) institutions, and has failed to outlive project lifetimes (Manor, 2005).

While these community-based approaches have been successful in many contexts, it has become increasingly apparent that if local

institutions are to be effective, they will require more organisational, management and technical capacity, as well as more resources with which to operate, and vertical and horizontal linkages to external sources of support (van Oosten, 2013). Specifically, horizontal linkages are needed to harmonise management approaches across contiguous ecological systems, including shared forest, lake or wildlife rangeland. Horizontal linkages also help to share experiences and lessons and lobby duty bearers for strengthened rights and resources, while vertical linkages are needed to access markets, technical assistance, influence or enforce policy and law, or provide other forms of support (see Figure 3).

Institutions provide the framework through which individuals and groups are able to voice concerns and priorities, defend their rights and hold duty bearers to account. When effective, institutions allow a process of informed discussion, deliberation and negotiation and an exploration of trade-offs, costs and benefits regarding different natural resource management approaches and strategies. Accountability can be strengthened between actors at the same level (horizontally), vertically (hierarchically) or diagonally. We see an example of the latter in NGOs that try to hold other actors accountable (Nuesiri, 2017), representing a diversity of rights holders and stakeholders from local to international levels. This principle intersects nicely with principles around participation and decision-making. When decision-making occurs at a scale larger than the local level, such as in multi-stakeholder platforms addressing

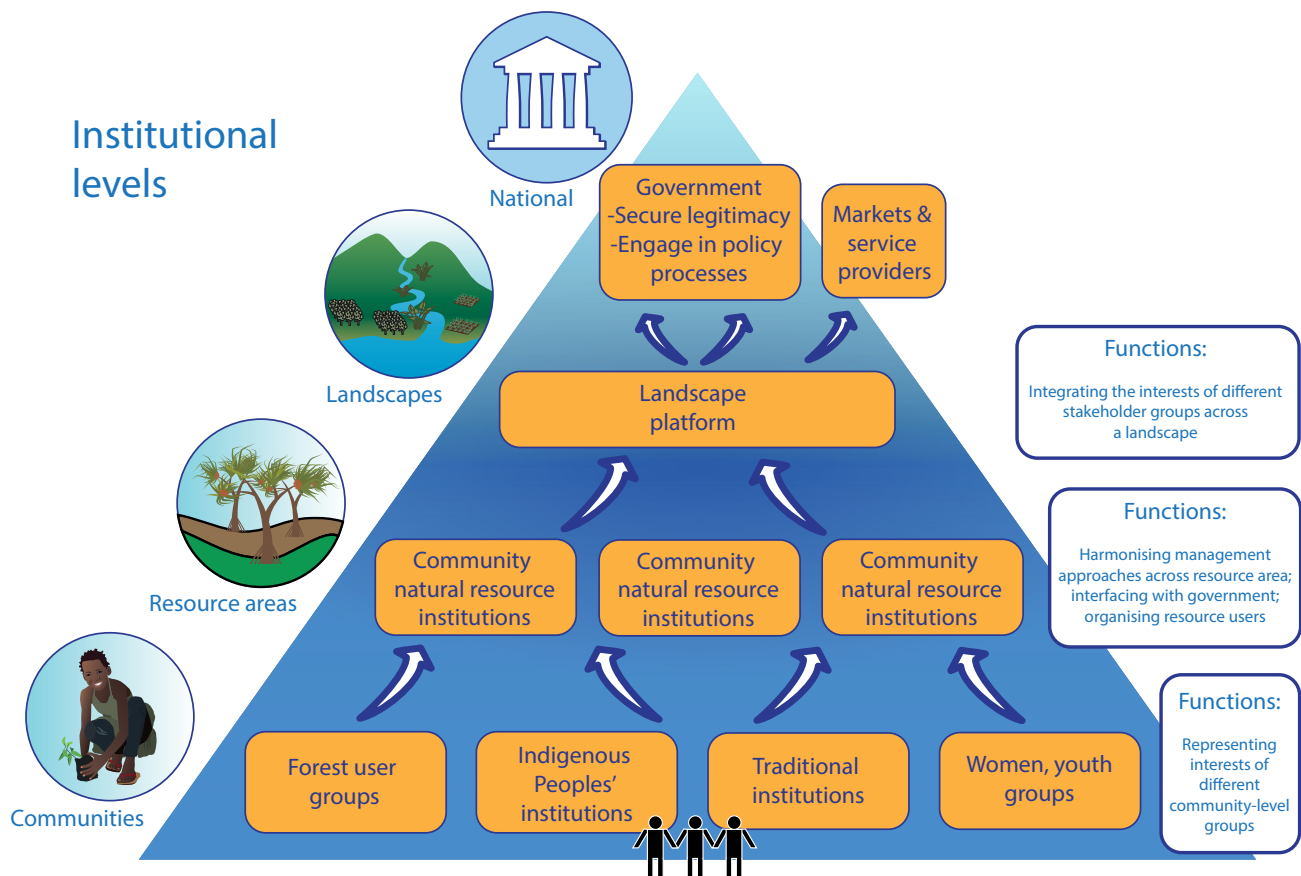


Figure 3. Horizontal and vertical linkages of landscape governance. Note: Some symbols used in this diagram were created by the University of Maryland Integration and Application Network.

subnational or national issues, accountability mechanisms among actors are key to ensuring a participatory approach.

In the context of landscape governance, ecological or biophysical boundaries rarely match with social, cultural, political or administrative boundaries. As such, it is rare to find an alignment of formal, governmental institutions with those operating within specific landscapes (van Oosten et al., 2014). Spatial and development planning processes used by governments to determine land use, expenditure and resource allocation often take place within governments with little or no representation from non-state actors including resource users, local communities, indigenous peoples or the private sector (Ece et al., 2017).

The Tanzanian Government addressed this challenge shortly after independence in 1964 through the creation of village assemblies, made up of all adult residents in the village, with clear

roles in holding village authorities to account and engaging in activities such as natural resource planning and management (Alden Wily et al., 2001). Traditional and customary institutions, while having an important role in local governance of lands and natural resources, often operate outside government control, budget and resources. As such, effective landscape governance requires a network of interlinked institutions through which different stakeholder interests can be assimilated and negotiated.

Some of these general aspects of inclusion, participation and the role of local institutions are discussed in more detail below, through three case studies. Firstly, community-based natural resource management institutions, called Community Resource Management Areas (CREMAs) in Ghana are reviewed in terms of the degree to which they have been able to respond to local needs, while being able to act as intermediaries with higher-level service providers and duty bearers. Secondly,

landscape level platforms, supported by IUCN *Towards Pro-poor REDD+ Project* (see Box 5) in East and West Africa are reviewed with a view to exploring their effectiveness in ensuring that local concerns and interests were effectively channelled to decision-makers during policy development processes around REDD+. Finally, a carbon-offset scheme, operating across Uganda called the *Trees for Global Benefits* programme, is reviewed with a view to understanding how interventions from IUCN and partners helped strengthen the inclusion of poorer and more marginalised households.

2.2 Experiences from Ghana – the CREMA concept

The Community Resource Management Area (CREMA) is a concept developed in Ghana that refers to a geographically defined area, including one or more communities that have agreed to jointly manage natural resources in a sustainable manner and for the benefit of local interests (Asare et al., 2013). The CREMA is overseen by a locally-elected, two-tier management structure that seeks to integrate natural resource management systems within existing land, agriculture and livestock practices. At the top, CREMAs are managed by an executive committee, which derives its membership from individual communities or villages as well as traditional authorities of the area. At the community level, a community resource management committee acts as a local unit of organisation, with representation on the higher-level executive committee. Individual farmers or landholders are members of the CREMA and, through the community resource management committee, they determine the policies of the CREMA and hold the executive committee to account.

CREMAs were originally developed by the Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission of Ghana as a concept designed to address

unregulated and unsustainable wildlife hunting and the bush-meat trade around protected areas. The establishment of CREMAs around protected areas engaged communities in conservation efforts while recognising the realities of staff shortages and physical distances between Wildlife Division staff and resources being protected. CREMAs require a defined and agreed boundary, which often reflect traditional area boundaries. Bylaws that govern CREMA operations often incorporate or are derived from local norms or traditional systems of forest and wildlife management (Asare et al., 2013), and are approved by the local authorities of the political boundaries within which the CREMAs exist. The CREMAs are also governed by a constitution that they develop and agree to.

In the transition and savanna regions of Ghana, wildfire prevention and control, livestock grazing and wood fuel production are important local priorities. Natural resources in these regions are generally managed through a communal approach, and agreements are developed on the management of grasslands, grazing areas and protection, as well as the harvesting and sale of natural products such as shea tree nuts, dawadawa fruits and wild honey (Baruah et al., 2016).

During the early 2000s, growing interest in the CREMA model resulted in new CREMAs being developed in more forested areas, where land and natural resources are often managed individually, with the rationale that management could be extended to include forest as well as wildlife resources. Activities overseen by CREMAs include: promotion of climate-smart cocoa production such as the integration of indigenous trees within cocoa production, the production of other cash/tree crops such as shea nuts in agroforestry landscapes in the savanna region, and commercial tree plantations of fast-growing exotic species. Recent interest in forest restoration as part of Ghana's national REDD+ process⁵ has led to

5 Ghana's national REDD+ process is supported by international programmes such as the World Bank's Forest Carbon Partnership Facility and Forest Investment Program.

the adoption of the CREMA concept as a means to deliver emission reductions from land-use change (Asare et al., 2013; Baruah, 2017).

IUCN, together with local NGO partners, has been promoting rights-based landscape governance processes through CREMAs for over a decade in Ghana's western region and more recently, in the northern savanna zone. Local NGOs have played an important role in facilitating the establishment and development of CREMAs, in the absence of support from government assistance, which is largely absent due to lack of funds (Baruah, 2017).

Typically, the establishment of a CREMA takes between three to five years of planning and preparatory work with participating communities, and includes 10 distinct steps. It is a costly process, requiring significant external technical support, funding and inputs. Currently, CREMAs operate through somewhat of a legal loophole, as the Certificate of Devolution⁶ does not provide CREMAs with full legal backing to effectively carry out their work. There is, however, a Wildlife Bill, which was before parliament for approval in 2018. If and when approved, this would provide CREMAs with the much-awaited strengthened legal backing. The latest 2017 figures from the Wildlife Division indicate that there are 32 CREMAs in 26 districts in seven regions across Ghana, covering just under half a million hectares. Twenty-four CREMAs have received their certificate of devolution and the other eight are at various stages of establishment (IUCN, 2017c).

■ Strengths and weaknesses of Community Resource Management Areas

CREMAs offer a number of benefits to local resource users and managers. Firstly, CREMAs provide an opportunity to coordinate diverse interests and negotiate collective action through

a formalised institutional structure. Off-reserve areas are inherently complex, with multiple actors (with multiple interests), and a tenure system that vests management rights in a range of actors from the state to traditional authorities, and to individual households. This complexity has frustrated many natural resource management initiatives in the past and presents similar constraints to projects or initiatives seeking to secure emission reductions from reduced deforestation or forest degradation. CREMAs offer an entry point to address these problems, not least through the existence of a well-defined and representative management body, which in theory captures the interests and stakes of different resource users across a landscape, including customary authorities and traditional leaders. CREMAs have the potential for a strong community structure that facilitates landscape planning, democratic decision-making, community-based governance and local design of benefit-sharing agreements for all stakeholders.

Secondly, CREMAs provide an opportunity for planning landscape level, collective economic activities, such as the protection, collection and processing of wild fruits and marketing of shade-grown cocoa. In some cases, the mobilisation of communities has provided a sense of empowerment, which has been effective in controlling illegal activities within CREMA landscapes. An example is the case of the Murugu-Mognori CREMA members preventing the transportation of illegal logs through their landscape and going on to arrest perpetrators of such acts. CREMAs have also provided an entry point for external sources of support, including technical assistance, financial services and market engagement.

Thirdly, the CREMA concept has proven resilient to different local circumstances. Despite distinct social, economic and ecological conditions across Ghana from the semi-arid north to the

⁶ A Certificate of Devolution is an administrative instrument that vests the Minister with powers to appoint honorary game officers.



humid, high-forest zone to the southwest, CREMAs have been flexible and adaptive to local needs and priorities.

Despite these benefits, a number of factors constrain the effectiveness of CREMAs as functional, rights-based, landscape-level governance institutions. Firstly, the current legal framework does not provide a clear and unambiguous transfer of rights of the management of both forest as well as wildlife resources within the areas under CREMA management. A key precondition of effective community-based natural resource management is that local managers need to be fully empowered with regard to making and enforcing management decisions on the use of those natural resources being managed. The Ghanaian constitution vests the management and disposal of naturally occurring (non-planted) trees in the state, even when found on family-managed agricultural land. This creates perverse incentives to local managers, who see valuable timber trees as a liability rather than an asset, as timber harvesting of such trees is allocated to timber companies without consultation of landowners.

IUCN and NGO partners have been working with the government of Ghana to prepare policy options for strengthening tree tenure through a system of registration of planted trees, resulting in a standard, government-approved template for tree registration. Although not without its challenges, if effectively implemented, this template will go some way towards removing perverse incentives to tree planting and management.

Secondly, CREMAs are an institution that was created under the various legal instruments in the wildlife sector between 2000 and 2012 with a primary goal of protecting wildlife, rather than effectively managing natural resources within their jurisdiction. Their inauguration takes place following the issuance of a Certificate of Devolution from the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, and much of the support provided to CREMAs is facilitated by the Wildlife Division (together with supporting NGOs). Given this, management institutions see themselves as dependent on and accountable to the Wildlife Division and NGOs, rather than downwardly accountable to their own members (Baruah, 2013; Baruah, 2017). Even though

BOX 6 : The role of traditional authorities and government in CREMAs

For a Community Resource Management Area to be effective, the support of local, traditional authorities is crucial. This is illustrated in the case of Murugu and Kaden – two communities bordering Mole National Park. Both communities suffered from evictions and restricted land use due to the creation of the park, and as a result had a deep mistrust of governmental conservation initiatives. When presented with the choice to form a CREMA, they assessed this decision as a trade-off between opportunities for economic development and fears of further eviction.

While community-members from Murugu were convinced by the benefits of the CREMA, Kaden community remained sceptical and rejected the CREMA concept, in large part due to opposition from traditional authorities. Murugu community, with support from the CREMA, began collection and sale of certified shea nuts, which was not available to Kaden community members given their rejection of the CREMA concept. This rejection, although understandable given the historical context, means that options for sustainable development are more limited.

When promoting institutions such as CREMAs, it is important to take into account traditional authorities and their views, as well as previous relations with governments, which can influence how receptive community members are to new government-promoted initiatives. Establishing trust with communities who are deciding whether to establish a CREMA can be a key factor in the decision-making process, while respecting their decision to say no.

Source: Gilli, 2018.

decentralised or local authorities also have a key role in the approval of the by-laws of the CREMAs, in many cases, there are very limited links to local governments once these by-laws are passed. The problem is compounded by the fact that many district assemblies do not have specialised forestry or wildlife staff, as these sectors are not seen as a local priority. Again, IUCN and NGO partners have been working to provide policy options for strengthening the autonomy, rights and responsibilities of CREMA management bodies through the Wildlife Bill.

Thirdly, conflicts have been identified between CREMAs and traditional authorities. In many parts of Ghana, such as in the savanna region, traditional authorities (elders, stools and traditional chiefs) play a significant role in regulating access to and use of natural resources, such as trees and grazing rights, and derive an important part of their income from

granting such rights (Lund, 2006). CREMAs can potentially create a parallel structure that can compete with such traditional decision-making, resulting in conflicts. This has been partially addressed in some cases through the integration of traditional authorities within CREMA decision-making institutions (Blomley, 2015). Lack of support from traditional authorities can undermine the formation or development of CREMAs (see Box 6).

A fourth challenge, driven by weak governance, poor downward accountability and low levels of transparency is that of elite capture – the concentration and capture of benefits by leaders and managers (Baruah, 2017). If management decisions threaten the activities of more powerful interests, these powerful interests can potentially co-opt or threaten management institutions in ways that make the CREMA functionally inoperative. This can lead

to disillusionment and apathy on the part of resource users as the management body loses local legitimacy. In other cases, poor planning leads to key resource users being marginalised. Those with the highest resource dependency (such as traditional hunters, charcoal burners and timber harvesters) are often excluded from participating in management (being seen as part of the problem, and not part of the solution), and as such, decisions are taken without their participation, threatening long-term stability and integrity of management itself.

Finally, it has been noted that management institutions do not often reflect the wide range of interests and views across the landscape in question. For example, men and women have very different and distinct interests with regard to natural resource management, given their different gender roles within the family and society. Women in many communities have much less voice and may not be able to ensure that, during planning processes, their interests are sufficiently represented in land use or activity plans. Women may also be poorly represented within decision-making structures at the community or CREMA level. Similarly, livestock herders who move between communities and grazing areas are poorly represented in CREMA management bodies, despite the important role they play in rangeland and forest management.

Another group that is often marginalised within CREMA decision-making bodies and processes is migrant farmers who have poorer links to local institutions than resident farmers. Some of these problems emerged in the context of the Bontori CREMA in the Western Region of Ghana. The CREMA had historically been supported by an Accra-based NGO and in 2010, the CREMA was granted a Certification of Devolution by the government, transferring the authority for management and utilisation of resources within the CREMA to the people in participating villages. During community meetings facilitated by IUCN, it became apparent that there was widespread dissatisfaction with how the CREMA

was governed, and in particular it was felt that leaders were unresponsive, unaccountable and untrustworthy (Baruah, 2017).

A series of priority actions were identified by community members including the importance of holding regular meetings, the need for transparency of CREMA documents, and the need to amend the constitution to have increased accountability of the CREMA leaders. Specific actions were agreed and included the formation of a constitutional review committee, development of terms of reference for the committee, and reviewing and revising the constitution. Follow-up meetings to monitor progress occurred. As a result of these measures, CREMA management bodies were assessed by community members to be improving and overall management became more effective (Barrow et al., 2016; Baruah et al, 2016).

2.3 Landscape-level platforms in Cameroon, Ghana and Uganda

Unlike the example above of CREMAs, which operate at a local level, landscape-level platforms are institutional structures that operate at a landscape scale and are designed to provide a voice for traditionally marginalised voices within planning and policy-making. Through the Towards Pro-poor REDD+ Project (see Box 5), IUCN has been supporting sustainable natural resource management processes across two landscapes in Uganda – Mount Elgon in the extreme east of the country, and Agoro Agu in the north. Within each landscape, a number of interventions have been implemented with a view to integrating rights-based and pro-poor approaches within existing processes such as the development of community forestry agreements, payments for environmental services and local government development planning. IUCN has supported the establishment of landscape-level platforms across both of these landscapes as a means to ensure that local rights holders (in particular,

forest dependent communities and women) have an opportunity to engage in policy discussions such as REDD+.

In the Mount Elgon landscape, the Mount Elgon Stakeholders Forum was formed and is hosted by the Uganda Wildlife Authority, while in the Agoro Agu landscape, the Agoro Agu Landscape Platform was formed and is hosted by the Agoro International Vocational Institute. As well as providing opportunities for integrating approaches across and between landscapes, these two platforms have been instrumental in informing and shaping national policy processes, particularly around the development of Uganda's national REDD+ strategy, and the country's National Sustainable Mountain Development Strategy.

In August 2016, members of the Parliamentary Forum on Climate Change came to Mount Elgon and visited project sites. They also met with landscape forum members who were able to argue strongly for rights-based approaches within national REDD+ and climate change policies. Prior to the visit, the process of finalising the Climate Change Bill had stalled within government. The field excursion exposed key members of parliament to the realities of climate change, and contributed to their realisation of the urgency to fast track the bill. This illustrates the importance of bringing policy makers to the field to interact directly with rights holders, but also illustrates how platforms such as these can be used to advocate key messages directly to higher levels.

In Ghana, discussions and concerns raised at landscape-level meetings facilitated between CREMAs, protected area management and district governments have raised important issues related to benefit sharing, tree tenure and gender. All of these issues have important implications for rights within the context of climate change mitigation. By bringing these concerns and proposed solutions to the attention of policy makers at the national level through a landscape approach, IUCN and partners were instrumental in shifting narratives

and policy processes around REDD+ towards a more RBA. Specific examples include strengthened rights and responsibilities for CREMA management bodies now included in the Wildlife Bill, and strengthened tree tenure, reflected in the recent issue of guidelines by Ghana's Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources regarding registration of planted trees. However, it remains to be seen if fundamental rights of rural households to tree tenure change as a result of these measures.

In Cameroon, IUCN and partners have supported landscape level platforms that have facilitated planning and governance across two project landscapes, resulting in agreements for co-management of wildlife resources, sustainable management of village lands and community-controlled areas such as protected areas, community hunting and buffer zones. These agreements strengthen communal land and resource tenure for the indigenous Baka ethnic group, which live a traditional, hunter-gatherer lifestyle, largely dependent on forest resources.

At a national level, IUCN partners have supported Cameroon's National Civil Society Platform for REDD+ and Climate Change (CSO-REDD&CC), which monitors policy development and ensures broad participation of civil society in sustainable forest management initiatives. CSO-REDD&CC is the formal channel for ensuring civil society concerns in REDD+ are fed into the government and policy development process, and well placed to influence the Readiness Preparedness Proposal (R-PP) for the Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF). This was due in part to the high number and diversity of groups that are members of the platform, including indigenous peoples, women and ideologically-diverse sets of organisations. CSO-REDD&CC's scope is also advantageous, with branches in all 10 administrative regions of the country.

To ensure that its positions, views and inputs adequately reflected the diversity of its members, the CSO-REDD&CC frequently

organised national workshops attended by provincial and community-level representatives to review, discuss and formulate inputs to draft REDD+ documents before submission by the government to the FCPF; or to prepare position statements from civil society regarding REDD+ policy matters. Despite strong vertical links from the national platform down to a range of local partners representing a range of interests, one key challenge was that at the national level, civil society (represented through CSO-REDD&CC) had only one seat out of 17 on the National REDD+ Steering Committee and, consequently, their voice was often overshadowed by other interests. Furthermore, while this body did play an important role in shaping and influencing REDD+ strategy development, its effectiveness was limited by disputes between participating members, inadequate funding, and limited capacity and engagement from government bodies (Akwah Neba et al., 2018).

2.4 The Trees for Global Benefits (TGB) Programme, Uganda

The Trees for Global Benefits (TGB) programme in Uganda is a government-approved carbon-offsetting scheme implemented by NGOs, which links small-scale farmers to voluntary carbon markets, based on the Plan Vivo Standard.⁷ The TGB programme is implemented by The Environmental Conservation Trust of Uganda (ECOTRUST), an IUCN member and implementing partner in the Mount Elgon landscape. The TGB programme started in one district in western Uganda in the late 1990s, and has since been rolled out across four districts in western Uganda and four districts around Mount Elgon. The Plan Vivo system incorporates a set of standards, administrative processes and technical models. Under the Plan Vivo Standard, farmers and communities

are engaged in tree planting and the carbon benefits delivered are sold as Plan Vivo Certificates. Payments are performance based (in terms of carbon sequestration) but no performance measures exist around equity and inclusiveness.

The Mbale region in the Mount Elgon landscape has a high population density of about 1,000 people per square kilometre, with average landholding size of about 0.5 – 1 hectare, forcing farmers to cultivate land intensively throughout the year (Republic of Uganda, 2013). Based on feasibility analyses conducted during the design of the TGB programme, eligibility to participate in the programme requires land availability of at least 0.2 hectare, which can be either planted with woodlots or agroforestry systems that incorporate trees, without compromising food security (ECOTRUST, 2012).

The implication of this decision was that poorer farmers with limited availability of land were unable to participate in the scheme. By 2016, IUCN began reviewing the scheme and confirmed that there was limited participation from poorer households. Through participatory analysis at the community level, key strategies were identified and operationalised to improve the performance of the TGB programme, and strengthen its pro-poor focus, including:

- Ensuring communication methods that allow information to flow from the TGB programme across the whole community. This involved the use of radio and the involvement of local councillors and leaders in mobilisation and information sharing;
- Supporting community members with small land holdings below the qualification threshold to form groups and qualify to join the TGB programme at a group level;

⁷ See: <http://www.planvivo.org/> The Plan Vivo Standard is an internationally recognised system for independently verifying community forestry and land-use projects designed to deliver carbon emission reductions and strengthen local livelihoods. Carbon revenues generated either are paid to beneficiaries directly in cash or are used to support community funds directed to local development priorities.

- Putting in place mechanisms to provide benefits for non-participants such as involving them in activities which establish and manage tree nurseries; and
- Establishing the Community Carbon Fund, generated as a percentage of cash payments deducted from individual payments. This fund, operated and managed at the local level, was used to support wider development efforts that would benefit the whole community.

One of the direct consequences of these actions was that 11 farmer groups were formed with a total membership of 215 farmers that are now eligible to receive results-based payments for reduced carbon emissions (IUCN, 2018). Based on the experiences from the Mount Elgon landscape where farmers were engaged in a community planning process, ECOTRUST is now rolling out a similar approach and training sessions in the two other regions of Uganda where the programme is being implemented.

2.5 Conclusions

The examples presented in this chapter point to the valuable role local institutions can play

in ensuring the participation and inclusion of diverse but legitimate interests within landscape governance initiatives, and how these interests can be represented in decision making about sustainable natural resource management. Many global initiatives, such as the Bonn Challenge to restore degraded and deforested landscapes,⁸ REDD+, payments for ecosystem services and watershed management initiatives depend heavily on functional institutional frameworks for implementation, not only to ensure equity and rights but also as a means to generate conservation and restoration outcomes (van Oosten, 2013). Community-based natural resource institutions, such as CREMAs in Ghana (notwithstanding their current legal limitations), offer opportunities for harmonised planning and decision-making, sustainable natural resource use and marketing that provide opportunities for all members of the community to benefit, including poorer households.

Case studies presented in this chapter also illustrate the complexities and realities of creating and sustaining community-based institutions with governance arrangements that are inclusive, representative, downwardly accountable, and able to link to and integrate

BOX 7 : Solutions to vertical landscape governance

Coordination across sectors and across levels of organisation or hierarchy remains a challenge in governance. Some solutions to overcome these challenges are the following:

- Actors from different levels participate in processes at another level. For example, local NGO members participating in a national platform.
- Institutions from one level influencing another level. For example, local civil society organisations networking themselves at a national level to influence national level decisions.
- Knowledge from one level is introduced at another level. For example, local level information is brought to the national level to lobby for land rights.

Source: Adapted from Pahl-Wostl, 2009

8 See: <http://www.bonnchallenge.org/content/challenge>

with customary, traditional and formal government structures. The CREMA case study highlights the importance of devolving authority from central government to locally-elected management institutions, and the necessity of vesting natural resource tenure in the hands of local people rather than the state. Limited devolution can result in management institutions becoming upwardly rather than downwardly accountable, and limit opportunities for empowering such institutions in decisions over how natural resources are managed and used to the benefit of community members.

Without deliberate measures, the participation of low-income households at the landscape level, natural resource management initiatives may be limited. Experiences from Uganda and Ghana demonstrate the need for safeguards and pro-poor measures to ensure an equitable flow of benefits from landscape governance to more marginalised households. In Uganda, landscape forums have provided an opportunity to profile emerging field experiences and lobby local and national governments on the inclusion of more rights-based approaches within development and climate change processes as illustrated in Box 7. If these institutions are to function beyond the life of donor-funded projects, they will need incentives and resources to operate over the medium term, and a clear sustainability plan in place.

In the case of CREMAs, external support from government has been lacking and externally-funded NGOs have filled the gap left by government. This, however, runs the risk of relieving government of its responsibilities and may create unnecessary dependence on NGOs operating on time-bound project budgets. To become financially independent, attempts have been made to charge small levies on the sale of natural products collected in CREMAs or through the sale of high-value, shade-grown cocoa in the high forest zone, which may help with long-term sustainability.

Furthermore, deliberate measures are needed to ensure that the benefits of natural resource management are not captured by richer, more educated and powerful interests at the community level, resulting in further marginalisation of poorer households dependent on natural resources. Transparency (discussed further in Chapter 3) is an important precondition for ensuring that representatives remain downwardly accountable. It has proven to be effective to ensure community members, farmers and resource users are aware of the roles and responsibilities of management institutions that represent them and are able to hold leaders to account through public and open forums. Ensuring regular elections (every three years, as defined in CREMA guidelines) also creates opportunities to displace and replace non-performing leaders. Further devolution and empowerment by the state will strengthen downward accountability to resource users. District governments in Uganda have indicated that financial resources are severely constrained and as such, innovative solutions will be required if landscape forums are to be sustained beyond the life of external donor funding.

Finally, the case studies presented in this chapter demonstrate the importance of developing and maintaining both horizontal and vertical linkages between community-based, local management institutions and formal, governmental institutions. These linkages can facilitate inclusion within local government planning and budgeting frameworks, but also provide opportunities for influencing local and national policies and decision-making processes. The CSO-REDD&CC example in Cameroon indicates that while a civil society network may be well-linked internally across a range of interest groups, its effectiveness in external advocacy and policy influence may be weakened if participation in decision-making processes is heavily slanted towards other, often opposing, interests.



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3 Transparency, access to information and accountability

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As was mentioned in the previous chapter, transparency is an important precondition for ensuring that the benefits of effective local-level natural resource management are not captured by more powerful community leaders. Transparency and access to information are essential components to a rights-based landscape governance system that works to ensure that poor households dependent on natural resources are not further marginalised.

In this chapter, we define the concept of transparency in the context of landscape governance, and provide key lessons learnt from transparency-enhancing landscape governance efforts in Indonesia, Cameroon and Uganda.

3.1 Defining transparency in landscape governance

Transparency is about ensuring citizens are able to access information relating to decisions that affect them, and can effectively participate in decision-making processes to reduce or prevent corruption (Ofori & Lujala, 2015). Transparency and access to information are essential components to a rights-based governance system. To effectively guarantee transparency, information should be available, accessible and disseminated widely among the population. In the context of many developing countries, where literacy levels are low, information needs to be in a format and language that is accessible and easily understood. In landscape governance, transparency is defined as ensuring rights holders have timely access to information about: what is at stake in decision-making; which processes and institutions can exert influence; who is responsible for what; and how these people can be made accountable (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2013).

In many landscape contexts, private sector corporations such as palm oil, rubber or soya corporations as well as governments may operate outside the framework of the law. If information regarding their obligations and responsibilities are not publicly available for scrutiny by civil society, consumers and local communities, illegal practices can continue

unchecked (Aguilar-Støen & Hirsch, 2017). Furthermore, government agencies may collude with private sector interests by granting rights to resource use in areas that are allocated as protected or under community ownership.

Access to accurate information about land use and land-use change is an important initial step in holding duty bearers to account and is increasingly being used by a range of international natural resource governance initiatives such as LandMark⁹ and Global Forest Watch.¹⁰ If stakeholders are to participate effectively in landscape governance, they require access to information about the activities and policies of government and other duty bearers operating within the landscape (Ariti et al., 2018). Absence of, or inaccessibility to, information often creates a sense of disempowerment, mistrust, suspicion and frustration.

Transparency can reduce corruption. If citizens, the media and civil society have information on the performance of government agencies, private sector organisations and donor-funded organisations, among others, they can be held to account. This promotes good governance, combats corruption and improves public policy making. Free availability of information can act as deterrent to corrupt behaviour and reduces impunity (Transparency International, 2012).

9 See <https://rightsandresources.org/en/work-impact/strategic-initiatives/landmark-map/#.Wyuda60-JMZ>

10 <https://www.globalforestwatch.org>

Accountability refers to the relationship between an actor and a forum in which the actor has an obligation to explain or justify his or her conduct. The forum can pose questions, demand answers and pass judgement for which the actor may face consequences (Bovens, 2007). Rights-based approaches to landscape governance emphasise the role that rights holders play in holding duty bearers to account. In many developing country contexts, duty bearers such as national or local governments face a range of constraints and gaps when meeting agreed obligations. These constraints commonly include issues of funding, capacity and staffing. Access to information allows those forums demanding accountability to understand whether failures by duty bearers to deliver agreed goods and services are caused by lack of capacity, or lack of political will. Furthermore, if accountability is to function effectively, it has to be demanded by “umpires” such as NGOs, journalists and activists (van Zyl, 2014), who can provide independent views from outside government on whether duty bearers are meeting their responsibilities. This implies that the capacities of rights holders – particularly those who are poorest and most marginalised – need to be analysed if they are to effectively claim their rights.

▪ **Strategies for building accountability in landscape governance**

Within the context of landscape governance, a range of strategies are used to strengthen accountability between rights holders and duty bearers.

Firstly, different stakeholders need to be made aware of their rights and responsibilities. In the context of landscape approaches, this can include ensuring forest dependent communities are fully aware of their rights and responsibilities with regard to community forest management and opportunities for sustainable harvesting and management. Furthermore, they need to be made aware of the roles and responsibilities of institutions that represent their interests at higher levels and likely beyond their landscapes

– including community forestry management bodies, village or district governments and NGOs that provide external support.

Secondly, agreements brokered between stakeholders need to be documented and ideally embedded within a strong and enforceable legal framework. Opportunities for review of plans or agreement by all parties are needed. When duty bearers fail in their responsibilities, an independent redress mechanism is needed to ensure that accountability is delivered. Furthermore, this monitoring should not only assess progress towards agreed goals and outputs, but should ensure that agreed actions do not result in negative impacts on poorer or more marginalised groups such as hunter gatherers, other forest users and women. Finally, if accountability is to be achieved, information needs to be publicly available and fully disclosed in a transparent manner.

In the following sections, case studies are presented from Cameroon, Indonesia and Uganda to illustrate how transparency and access to information can strengthen accountability mechanisms between duty bearers and rights holders.

3.2 Participatory mapping and recognition of customary rights in decentralised forest management in Indonesia

Tenure over forests, lands and natural resources is critical as it provides a foundation for local governance, the stewardship of land and natural resources, strengthened local livelihoods including benefit sharing, empowerment and human rights. Indigenous peoples’ movements and coalitions increasingly see the rights to lands, territories and resources as inseparable to rights more broadly (Larsen & Springer, 2016).

The two provinces of Papua and West Papua in Indonesia contain around 41 million hectares



or about 36% of Indonesia's forest, much of which is located in remote, mountainous terrain where population densities are low. Indigenous Papuans predominate in these two provinces, living in traditional clan-based family structures and managing land and natural resources through customary, communal management and traditional belief systems.

The land use planning process in Indonesia is regulated under a law (number 26) passed in 2007. Economic development growth, poverty reduction and development of social wealth provides the main framework of the Spatial Plan policy. Currently, community participation in socio-economic and spatial planning is marginal at all levels, including the village, sub-district and district levels. This is due to a number of factors, but is largely driven by the overwhelming power of land-based investors, the lack of dialogue among stakeholders at the district and provincial level, the lack of locally-available information on community land rights, and the lack of a formal mechanism that allows the participation of communities in spatial planning (ILC, 2014).

Indonesia Forestry Law No 41 of 1999 requires that forests must be managed based on their functions to deliver social, economic and environmental benefits. There are three classifications of forests in Indonesia – Conservation, Production and Protection Forests. Conservation forests are managed by the *Balai Besar Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam* (Natural Resource Conservation Management Body) and *Balai Taman Nasional* (National Park Management Body) while for the production and protection forests the Indonesian Government has established Forest Management Units (FMUs) or *Kesatuan Pengelola Hutan* (KPH) as decentralised entities which are charged with the planning, management, investment and monitoring of forests within their jurisdiction. FMUs, as the forest management units of government institutions at the local level, are granted an initial financial allocation to cover their set-up costs but are expected to generate sufficient incomes from forest products revenues to be self-sustaining. They are also designed to oversee licensing and resolve conflicts in forest management, and offer a tenure arrangement while enhancing the value

and benefits of forests to local communities, local government and the state.

Indonesia's Ministry of Environment and Forestry has set a target of establishing 529 new FMUs across the country by the end of 2019. For both provinces of Papua, the government target is to establish 72 FMUs to support more effective management of production and protection forests in the two provinces, which comprise around 58% of the forest area in both provinces. To date, FMU planning has been a somewhat technical process, with limited real participation by rights holders including indigenous peoples or customary institutions, this has meant the lack of understanding about FMUs at the community level. There is pressure from government both at the national and local levels to prioritise the expansion of large scale private sector enterprises (such as palm oil, mining and other land-based businesses) to bring much-needed revenue and investment to the region.

While FMUs need to demonstrate economic viability and comparative advantage, particularly to central and provincial-level governments, the business model is currently based on extractive forms of forest management with limited local benefits. There is a need for FMUs to show the pathway for participatory, inclusive and integrated forest governance models, capable of reducing existing conflicts and providing viable economic business models that serve local interests.

IUCN has worked with one of its members in Indonesia, Samdhana Institute, to support sustainable forest and landscape management processes in Papua and West Papua provinces, as part of IUCN's Towards Pro-poor REDD+ Project (see Box 5). The project has worked with government agencies, CSOs and customary institutions to ensure their inclusion within

formal land-use planning and management processes. A key aspect of land-use planning involves identifying and clarifying current land uses as well as land ownership patterns.

Maps that identify customary boundaries and ownership of land – especially those made in a participatory way – are proving to be essential tools for land and resource planning, resolving disputes, and educating the younger generation about community rights to land and natural resources (IFAD, 2009). In Papua Province, support from IUCN and Samdhana Institute has resulted in 23 communities now having customary boundary maps that cover almost 200,000 hectares of their landscapes.¹¹ Nineteen community groups have produced boundary maps covering 193,814 hectares in the Baliem Valley in central Papua, and 18,286 hectares on Biak Island. Three clans in Tambrau have their technical boundary rights maps for further recognition process, covering a total of 6,591 hectares.

Through the development of a map that is agreed to by all members of the community, discussions and debates can be held in an open, transparent and inclusive manner on how the community's current activities affect the forest, and what changes could be made to strengthen long-term forest management. The role of an external facilitator has proven essential when undertaking participatory mapping. This facilitator ensures the process is inclusive and participatory, and that all stakeholders have a clear understanding of how participatory mapping can support informal claims over land and territories (Samdhana Institute, 2012).

The approach to participatory mapping adopted by Samdhana Institute and partners is providing a new means to mapping tribal and clan boundaries in order to accelerate legal

11 In Papua and West Papua, land is largely managed under the authority of local clans and individual communities. Individual households have rights to plots of agricultural land, and to the fallow plots slowly returning to forest, which they have farmed in the past. Despite these customary land management practices, under Indonesian law, forest land remains under the authority of the central government.

recognition, and secure the rights of indigenous peoples. This approach is being adopted by other NGOs in Papua aiming to support and strengthen customary land tenure. Having an agreed, geo-referenced map developed through an inclusive and legitimate process also allows community members to make claims on land tenure rights through formal, government-driven processes.

In Tambrauw district, the government has accepted and endorsed the participatory mapping process and is now integrating these maps into district land-use plans and official government documents. A district regulation has also been issued recognising traditional and customary rights of indigenous peoples living in Tambrauw. These documents are publicly available and allow community members to defend their rights when threatened with external developments over which they have had no decision-making authority, such as agricultural concessions or forest clearance and conversion.

Customary boundary maps with complete social data, coupled with the aforementioned district regulation, are the main prerequisites for the Ministry of Forestry and Environment to designate a forest area as *adat* (customary forest), which would transfer full authority from central government to the local level and customary institutions. This process is currently being pursued.

On Biak Island, customary maps covering all 18,286 hectares of forested and non-forested land have been developed by local communities and have been integrated in the development of the strategic plan for the Biak Numfor FMU. This plan is being used to shape potential business development options for the area and has resulted in a partnership agreement agreed between the FMU and local communities regarding management of forests within this area. A free prior informed consent process ensures that customary authorities are informed and mainstreamed into all decisions relating to how the FMU will be managed across areas under customary, communal clan tenure.

A key driver of this process on Biak Island has been the head of the FMU, who is from the area and a member of a local clan. His approach throughout has been to acknowledge the primacy of traditional customary institutions and to put these institutions at the forefront of decision-making processes. This is facilitated through the Biak Indigenous Council, which represents different tribal clans on the island. Transparency has been a cornerstone of the FMU planning process. Following the development of the plan, simplified versions have been made publicly available to local communities, so they can see clearly how their customary rights have been integrated and respected within the planning process.

■ Challenges in community mapping

The creation and application of participatory mapping for making land and natural resource tenure claims by indigenous communities has not been without problems. There is a lack of reliable conflict resolution mechanisms for handling latent boundary conflicts between neighbouring communities, and there is a tendency for the government to use these conflicts as justification to invest less in mapping initiatives. There are also gaps in technical capacity needed to produce new maps and improve existing ones. Additional challenges lie in the length of time taken for legal recognition of new regulations, and the difficulty in developing joint forest management and land-use plans with relevant government agencies to accommodate customary use.

The Biak Numfor FMU has become an example across Indonesia of how customary tenure claims can be integrated, through a transparent process, into long-term forest management and planning. However, this FMU is still considered the exception rather than the rule. The presence of a committed FMU head who comes from the local area and respects customary institutions has been a key factor behind the success on Biak Island, but this is by no means universal. In most cases, FMU heads and senior staff are not from the local population and are on relatively

short postings. Use of more traditional, top-down planning processes is the norm in these cases.

Tambrau District provides a lesson on the jurisdictional approach particularly on how local government reacts and pro-actively takes action on tenure rights clarification, social values protection and forest conservation. Tambrau District has issued two complementary local policies covering both rights recognition and conservation. Participatory boundary mapping of clans, their lands and resources is an essential part of the local government approach to rights recognition and this is being done by the local communities with budgetary support from the local government. But the challenges in Tambrau District relate to the absence of an official unit at the district government responsible for handling customary community and land tenure issues, and the limited capacity of the district officers to implement the policy that the local parliament passed. Tambrau District is still a very new district, created in 2008.

3.3 Increasing access to information in reducing forest emissions in Cameroon

A key goal of IUCN's work in a number of countries has been to demonstrate the viability of rights-based and pro-poor approaches within the context of national programmes for REDD+. Concerns raised by civil society voices within many countries relate to the rather top-down nature of REDD+ readiness activities, the pre-determined nature of national readiness requirements and the limited opportunities for meaningful local deliberation, contributions and inputs. In the early days of REDD+ policy development, much of the international discourse focused on the carbon aspects of REDD+ and results-based emission reductions. At that time, limited attention was paid to local livelihoods or the potentially negative impacts REDD+ policies and measures could have on poor, forest-dependent communities and

indigenous peoples (de Sassi et al., 2014). As the centre of gravity of REDD+ discussions and policy processes moved from the international arena down to countries, much of the discussions around REDD+ tended to take place at the national level, far from forest-adjacent communities who were potentially the most impacted by REDD+ policy decisions (Mbeche, 2018; Nuesiri, 2018).

In this context, IUCN initiated work to ensure that information on REDD+ concepts and proposals were effectively communicated downwards to the local level. Access to information and transparency in decision-making, it was argued, would ensure that people most affected by those decisions were able to participate meaningfully. As such, in a number of countries, communication processes were launched by IUCN and partners, using a range of media, including popular guides, radio programmes, drama and other channels of communication.

In Cameroon, IUCN partnered with Radio Environment, which used local language broadcasts to advance the issue of tenure rights, particularly among the indigenous Baka ethnic group that uses customary, communal tenure arrangements for managing and using forest resources. IUCN and partners also supported Cameroon's CSO-REDD&CC network to channel national-level discussions down to local communities, using their extensive network of CSO partners.

Despite the valuable external support provided by donor-funded projects, the CSO-REDD&CC network was confronted with a number of constraints. Firstly, REDD+ was a highly technical, complex and rapidly evolving concept, and as such, it was often challenging for local NGO representatives to comprehensively engage on deliberations during REDD+ national steering committee meetings. Furthermore, in many cases, documents were circulated in French only, which raised concerns from non-French speaking civil society organisations as French documents restricted

understanding and curtailed participation. Finally, ensuring that national discussions were reported effectively back to lower-level constituents proved difficult due to a lack of funding and outreach activities (Akwah Neba et al., 2018).

Many civil society actors engaged in REDD+ processes have argued that a rights-based approach in this context is limited by the fact that REDD+ policy decisions are often taken at the national level with minimal meaningful participation from those who are potentially most impacted by them, namely forest dependent communities and indigenous peoples. However, IUCN and partners have argued that despite the top-down nature of REDD+, support to local institutions and CSO networks has allowed marginalised communities to find a voice in the REDD+ debate.

3.4 Building institutional accountability in eastern Uganda

The Community Environment Conservation Fund (CECF) is a conservation benefits-sharing model developed and piloted by IUCN in eastern Uganda. The fund was initiated to address immediate community livelihood demands through a micro-credit scheme, which in turn motivates local communities to actively address natural resource conservation challenges in their areas (Kakuru & Masiga, 2016). The CECF operates in the Mount Elgon landscape in eastern Uganda, in the Upper Aswa sub-catchment in northern Uganda, in the Rwizi River catchment in south-western Uganda, and in the Karamoja region in north-eastern Uganda. The CECF model is built on three pillars: economic enhancement (livelihoods), environmental sustainability, and social equity (governance and participation).

The model works by providing money to establish a credit fund to communities who have collectively agreed to implement environmental management plans that respond to the

conservation challenges jointly identified by communities and CECF. Farmers are supported in implementing soil and water conservation measures such as tree planting, agroforestry and micro-catchment regeneration. All actions are designed to improve local environmental outcomes as well as reduce vulnerability, and diversify livelihoods among participating farmers.

Monitoring undertaken by IUCN in the Mount Elgon landscape showed that CECF community management committees, responsible for overseeing the management and disbursement of funds to community members, were weak and unaccountable. The monitoring also revealed there was limited oversight from local government staff. When funds were embezzled, community members had little or no recourse with the government or IUCN.

The problem was exacerbated by poor record keeping, failure by community management committees to disclose information and non-adherence to agreed governance standards such as regular public meetings and conflict of interest disclosure. There were no guidelines on how to regularly change leadership. Consequently, it was agreed by communities and CECF that a series of actions would be taken at the local level to strengthen governance and accountability, including regular reviews by group members on the roles and responsibilities of committee members as well as institutional arrangements such as bylaws. Further, it was agreed that there would be greater involvement of local the government, including increased monitoring and imposition of sanctions when funds were embezzled.

Local government accountants agreed to review CECF records on a regular basis and ensure that they were publicly available and of sufficient quality. Local government staff also agreed to oversee the agreement stipulating that CECF leadership at the community level was elected every two years and that elected leaders were not allowed to serve more than two consecutive terms. Further, it was agreed that

women should constitute at least 50% of CECF committee membership. At an organisational level, IUCN-Uganda made substantial changes to their overall programme approach, including how they work with local partners as well as local and national government to strengthen accountability and improve local-level representation (Barrow et al., 2016).

One area where governance problems had become critical was in the Kaptwokoi community in Kapchorwa district within the Mount Elgon landscape. As a result of the aforementioned interventions by IUCN, community members and the local government, performance and accountability was seen to drastically improve during this time across all nine villages in the micro-catchment. Funds that had been lost due to embezzlement or poor repayment were recovered, CECF leadership was replaced and action plans were rejuvenated. Monthly village meetings were held across all nine villages to review progress in improving governance and accountability. In Entebbe Village, which was the worst performing village in the micro-catchment, one woman who had previously been unable to access funding was able to borrow UGX 300,000 (Ugandan shillings, or US\$ 120) to buy a sewing machine. This purchase has enabled her to start a small business, which now meets her daily needs as well as helps to pay back her loan.

▪ **Strengthening accountability within local government structures in Uganda**

IUCN has been supporting a range of participatory natural resource management activities in the Mount Elgon region of Uganda for many years and its Towards Pro-Poor REDD+ Project has helped further RBAs. There is now a growing interest in engaging local governments to adopt rights-based and pro-poor approaches. The constitution of Uganda as well as local government legislation has given local governments the task of

promoting democratic governance, advocacy, transparency and accountability.

As a result of growing awareness and understanding of RBAs within the two districts of Mbale and Kapchorwa in Uganda, it was agreed that these districts would develop a process for mainstreaming RBAs in development actions. Initial discussions between IUCN, project partners and the two local governments acknowledged that sustaining donor-funded actions after projects come to an end is challenging. Integration of RBAs within government programmes can help ensure continuation of activities by linking communities with local governments through a process of mutual monitoring and accountability. However, it was also recognised that as local governments, financial constraints limited their ability to respond to all community-level demands, thereby constraining their effectiveness as duty bearers. Furthermore, district government technical staff acknowledged there was limited accountability between local governments and citizens, and that measures were needed to strengthen this. This was particularly the case for donor-funded actions. With their direct involvement, accountability processes could be increased, particularly with regard to strengthening financial accountability of locally administered funds. Finally, it was agreed that there was a need to build capacity of both rights holders (community members) and duty bearers (local government staff) if effective accountability is to be ensured.

A series of workshops and planning meetings were held between ECOTRUST and relevant staff from the production and natural resources departments of Mbale and Kapchorwa districts to agree on a way forward. Participants were designated members of the District Technical Planning Committee in their respective districts. This committee is responsible for coordination and development of planning functions in local governments. Rights-based indicators were developed for project-supported initiatives.

Indicators (see Table 2) included substantive rights, such as increased food security and access to education, as well as procedural rights, including the right to participate in decision-making and accountability processes, and the right to understand the role of duty bearers.

These project-level indicators were then integrated within district monitoring and evaluation (M&E) frameworks under the production portfolios headed by district

planners. This was done to ensure efficiency in performance reporting, but also to leverage the available limited resources (financial and nonfinancial) for monitoring. The same arrangement exists at the sub-county level, where project action checklists are being integrated into existing local government development checklists. These checklists are used by Community Development Officers for tracking performance of government development initiatives at the local level.

Table 2. Tracking rights-based and pro-poor actions in Kapchorwa District

Pro-poor goal: By 2017, increase by 40% the proportion of project beneficiaries whose income is more than US\$ 1 a day				
Indicator	Method	Timing	Implementer	Desired result
% of project beneficiaries whose income is more than US\$ 1 a day	Household survey in the various districts	Annually	Project technical lead	40% additional project beneficiaries have incomes greater than US\$ 1 a day
Number of special interest groups participating in CECF	Baseline survey and mapping	Beginning and end of the project cycle	District technical/ project team	50% of the special interest groups participating
Human-rights goal: By 2017, at least 60% households have basic knowledge and take corrective actions about their rights over key natural resources in the project area				
# of duty bearers and right holders trained on human rights associated with priority natural resources in project area	List of participants in the courses	At the end of the course	Project technical lead	150 duty bearers and rights holders (at village, sub-county and district levels)
Number of people accessing education as a result of the project (CECF)	List of pupils/ students attending school (from participating CECF households)	Yearly	District team/project team	30% of households per village in the project site
# of duty bearers and right holders trained who display basic knowledge and take corrective actions about their communities' rights over territories and natural resources	Knowledge attitude and practices survey	Biannually	Project technical lead	At least 75% of participant right holders and at least three duty bearers in selected communities
# of women involved in soil and water conservation practices and tree planting	Community survey at household levels	Quarterly	District and project technical team	75% of the participating households.

Secondly, multi-sectoral subcommittees of the District Technical Planning Committee were formed within each district to oversee the integration and implementation of rights-based indicators into the district M&E plans and sub-county checklists. Capacity and financing constraints have been raised by local government staff as factors that may limit overall uptake and adoption.

3.5 Conclusions

Experiences presented in this chapter highlight the importance of increased transparency as a means to build accountability. Ultimately, this can only succeed when duty bearers and rights holders work together towards a shared agenda, where there is an umpire to oversee interactions between the parties, and where there is an institution promoting sustainability beyond a project's end.

The case study from Indonesian Papua demonstrates the benefits of supporting participatory mapping of customary land and natural resource tenure rights. The case study also underscores the importance of integrating mapping work into government-led, formal planning processes such as provincial and district land-use planning, and forest management planning at the landscape level. Once endorsed by the government, this allows community members to defend their rights through formal processes, such as legal actions or lobbying senior decision makers. For this to happen, engagement is required with not just rights holders but also with government duty bearers, who can become champions, change agents and channels for replication and scaling up of RBAs.

Such processes can be time-consuming and costly, given the remote nature of many areas managed by traditional and customary institutions. Unless clearly mandated in law, such processes also require some level of political support from the government, and an openness to working with and supporting customary claims over land and natural

resource tenure. In Papua and West Papua provinces, their widespread customary traditions and practices, and high proportion of indigenous peoples means that such processes are more likely to succeed. This differs in other parts of the country, where indigenous peoples are the minority, and their rights are often neglected or ignored.

A key precondition for success in strengthening bottom-up accountability is ensuring that rights holders are aware of their rights and responsibilities as well as those who represent them through elected institutions. When traditional institutions in Papua Province were empowered to undertake participatory mapping of customary lands with the full backing of local people, they were in effect empowered with the necessary tools, knowledge and means with which to defend and lobby for strengthened land and natural resource tenure rights with district and provincial government duty bearers.

Experiences described from Uganda demonstrate the value and benefits of introducing measures designed to strengthen the accountability of local-level duty bearers. A payment for ecosystem services scheme was becoming ineffective and dysfunctional as a result of limited accountability and elite capture by community-level management committees. The introduction of simple, agreed measures can contribute to greater accountability. These measures include disclosure of information, raising awareness and understanding among beneficiaries regarding the roles and responsibilities of elected leaders, regular change of leadership, and strengthened oversight from local governments. These actions, in turn, have the effect of increasing effectiveness, recovering embezzled funds and rejuvenating activities in communities that had become inactive through loss of interest and motivation.

Working with local governments, it was agreed that rights-based indicators would be incorporated into sub-county and district planning frameworks, which would be

monitored through a cross-sectoral committee under the overall guidance of the District Planning Office. Questions remain, however, regarding the degree to which agreed actions will be translated into ongoing implementation, due to the very real capacity, staffing and financial constraints within local governments. Capacity gaps within duty bearer institutions, particularly poorly-resourced government agencies, can constrain their ability to meet obligations to rights holders.

Experiences with communicating REDD+ policy decisions and strategy options during

readiness activities in a number of countries has highlighted the importance of using appropriate media, particularly for non-literate audiences. By ensuring that information is available to forest-dependent communities, opportunities can be create feedback loops from local to national policy-making levels, so that concerns expressed at a local level can be effectively communicated back to national-level decision makers. However, the very nature of REDD+ limits the degree to which rights-based actions can be supported because readiness requirements are pre-defined, highly technical in nature and often subject to limited local inputs.



4 Between policy and law: Discerning women's rights in landscape governance

Jennifer Kelleher

As seen in previous chapters, a rights-based approach to landscape governance requires transparent and fair systems of participation, consultation and access to information. This approach requires that all stakeholders and rights holders are engaged in appropriate ways, and this is particularly the case for women and natural resource governance and management.

Women have been, and continue to be often excluded from governance mechanisms and decision-making. Yet, it has been shown in the key sectors linked to landscape governance across the world (i.e. agriculture, forestry and fisheries) that women play vital roles in the management of natural resources. The activities carried out, resources used and the benefits garnered from women's work in these sectors are themselves gender specific. The knowledge employed, as well as the forest products, crops and marine resources that women harvest are unique to them.

Any changes to the environment that reduce or restrict resources, through the negative effects of climate change or via restrictions associated with conservation law and policy, can adversely affect women and girls in a specific way that is different from men and boys. Lack of access to resources and exclusionary governance mechanisms can have profound impacts on women who are locked into cycles of poverty, which generate a host of cascading problems, including sustained and cyclical discrimination. Indigenous women, as custodians of biodiversity and holders of indigenous knowledge, face a triple discrimination by virtue of their position as often financially-poor and from a minority ethnic group. By excluding women's dynamic and knowledgeable voices, we lose their valuable interventions and diminish their propensity to become true agents of change. The need to respect women's right to equality in landscape governance is therefore clear and urgent.

This chapter begins by looking at how gender considerations have been woven into international policies and law, and considers the differences between addressing gender equality as a political commitment and as a legal obligation. I argue that by understanding the formal content of national laws and policies, avenues open up for more meaningful recognition within the context of projects led by international actors. Laws not only provide the basis for the recognition of rights, but also reveal the conditions that determine whether women are able to exercise those rights. Thereafter, the dimensions of women's rights to equality in landscape governance are explored.

4.1 Gender equality in international policy

Major international efforts have been made to promote the theme of gender across a broad range of actors, including governments, non-governmental and civil society organisations, and men and women from all over the world. Although gender mainstreaming has been a generally-accepted policy strategy (see Box 8), it was not placed squarely on the international agenda until the United Nations Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action at the World Conference on Women in 1995.

Twenty years later, the UN devoted an entire Sustainable Development Goal (SDG 5) to gender equity, and several other SDGs include gender considerations as well. Indeed, gender is a theme that permeates the work of the UN with its system-wide *Action Plan on Gender Equality* put in place by the UN Economic and Social Council Resolution 31 in 2005 (ECOSOC, 2005).

Gender references are also found within the themes of biodiversity conservation and climate change in several international agreements, including the 2012 Rio+20

BOX 8 :: What is gender mainstreaming?

“Gender mainstreaming is a globally accepted strategy for promoting gender equality. Mainstreaming is not an end in itself but a strategy, an approach, a means to achieve the goal of gender equality. Mainstreaming involves ensuring that gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to all activities – policy development, research, advocacy/ dialogue, legislation, resource allocation, and planning, implementation and monitoring of programmes and projects.”

Source: UN Women (online, 2019) <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/gendermainstreaming.htm>

BOX 9 :: UN-REDD Programme definition of gender equality

The UN-REDD Programme's definition of gender equality refers to:

“The achievement of women and men enjoying equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities. The interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration, while also recognizing the diversity of different groups of women and men. Gender equality is not a women's issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women. It does not mean that women and men will become the same but that a person's responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female.”

Source: UN-REDD Programme 2017, citing UN Women Concepts and Definitions on Gender Mainstreaming, available at: <http://bit.ly/1KRudf5>

outcome document, the preamble of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and its Action Plan on Gender,¹² the emphasis on a gender-responsive climate policy included in the Paris agreement (UNFCCC, 2015), and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change 2016 decision on gender and climate change (UNFCCC, 2016).

The UN's programme supporting efforts to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (UN-REDD) has developed a definition of gender equality (see Box 9) that is useful in landscape governance. This definition embraces the generally accepted idea that both

women and men should have equal rights and opportunities. It concerns all people, women and men, girls and boys equally.

These approaches have meant that gender equality has been integrated into the policies, programmes, project safeguards and indeed into the substantive content of projects of major international development and conservation actors such as the IUCN, the World Bank and many others. This ensures that the goal of gender equality moves beyond a safeguard approach in project design toward embedding gender into all activities in programmes and project portfolios.

12 <https://www.cbd.int/gender/action-plan/>

4.2 Gender equality in international and national law

The concept of gender equality also exists in law as a right and an obligation at both international and national levels. In international law, several treaties bind states to address gender inequalities. In addition to the founding treaty of the UN, the UN Charter and its Article 2 that guarantees rights and freedoms to everyone without distinction,¹³ the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) 1979 focuses specifically on women. To underscore the binding obligation on a given state, Article 2a of CEDAW requires that contracting State parties to CEDAW, “embody the principle of the equality... in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein” (CEDAW, 1979).

CEDAW’s Article 2a has been widely integrated into national laws. A study conducted in 2014 found that upon a review of 197 constitutions, nearly all took some approach to protecting equality for girls and women, with an increased development of these provisions over the past twenty years (World Policy Center, 2015). The scope of national legislation dealing with gender equality issues tends to deal with non-discrimination, equality in education and employment, maternity protection, rights upon marriage, property inheritance and other rights around land and participation.

Looking at gender equality in the legal sense, as a right before the law, views a woman as an individual bearer of rights that are rooted in her national context. These might include issues such as the denial of her right to property and to access resources therein, to her procedural rights, namely her right to participate fully in decision-making, the right to be consulted during decision-making, and the right to obtain

information about decisions that may affect her. These are supported by her rights to obtain justice for any obstruction of these rights, often referred to as retributive or restorative justice. These are enshrined for her as a rights bearer at both the international and national level depending on the context, with the state bearing the responsibility and mandate to respect and recognise those rights appropriately.

4.3 Political commitments versus legal obligations

Recognition for women’s rights are therefore supported across both policy and law. However, it is important to distinguish how this right may play out in both spheres. Law is deemed to have a ‘hard edge’ whereas policies may appear advisory or “soft” in nature. Law generally needs to pass a legislative process whereas policies may evolve from different kinds of institutional processes. Political and legal recognition of women’s rights contain key differences across a number of themes, with advantages and disadvantages for both (see Table 3). The legal approach seems to guarantee stronger recognition, although the presence of gender equality legislation does not guarantee its full and extensive implementation in a given state. The recognition of rights is often a threefold process (Larson & Springer, 2016) with formal legal recognition, practical implementation actions and the final actual exercise of rights of the rights bearer, all necessary for meaningful implementation. Conservation and development agencies often lack the mandate or resources (or both) to fully support such rights in a legal sense, especially with regard to tenure and access issues. Conversely, there is a danger that the concept of gender mainstreaming within a given intervention by an international actor can be vague and unsustainable, unable to meaningfully engage

13 UN Charter, Article 2 stipulates that, “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.”

Table 3. Political gender commitments versus legal obligations

Theme	Gender mainstreaming in projects	Gender equality as a substantive right
Threshold of commitment	Political or project-based commitments by international actors including international organisations, donors, agencies and NGOs	National and international legally-binding commitments at the state level
Measuring gender equality	Measuring the achievement of gender-related goals through quantitative means (sex disaggregated data and statistics)	Focusing on the rights of the individual bearer and obligations of the state: what rights are invoked, and to what extent are they respected?
Baseline approaches	Minimum 'do no harm' principle	Minimum observance of the national law, both constitutional and statutory, and customary if applicable
Perceived benefits	Increasing well-being and/or ability to participate	Increasing ability to participate and/or well-being
Location	Projects administered from developed to developing countries	Right exists in all countries
Nature of the notion of gender	Discretionary, open-ended, exploratory	Consistent, legal, enforceable, accountable

Source: Adapted from Sandra Fredman "Human Rights, the SDGs and gender equality" (British Academy, 2018) (online at <http://ohrh.law.ox.ac.uk/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Working-Together-Human-Rights-Sustainable-Development-Goals-Fredman.pdf>)

with topics such as the recognition of tenure or the transformation of patriarchal institutions. Projects in such interventions often do not contain long-term monitoring elements or sustainable solutions for change beyond the project lifespan.

Despite these challenges, conservation and development projects provide a unique opportunity to recognise women's rights by respecting and leveraging existing legislation. The role of international actors is key to engaging women in landscape governance, and to help to recognise the existing rights of women at international and national levels. To fully do so, it is necessary to strengthen women's human, social and political capital, to facilitate enabling environments to ensure women's active participation, and to sensitise men about the importance of women in governance to overcome historical gender bias and marginalisation. Landscape governance projects can also support the sustainable use

and conservation of natural resources, and can drive sustainable development with women, front and centre, as agents of change.

4.4 Gender equality as a substantive right in landscape governance

An RBA in landscape governance necessitates consideration of the right to equality in both a political and legal sense. What could such a right look like? By understanding the parameters of a substantive right to equality in landscape governance, international actors can make meaningful progress toward gender equality in project design.

Firstly, project proponents can consider the three dimensions of equity as recognised by the CBD: namely the recognition of rights; procedural aspects including full and effective participation in decision-making; and, distributive issues including the fair sharing

of costs and benefits,¹⁴ albeit from a gender perspective. This builds upon and mirrors the stepwise and RBA advocated in the IUCN publication *Conservation with Justice* (2009) by focusing on substantive rights (i.e. land and access to resources) and procedural rights (i.e. right to participate, to be consulted or gain information). To further explore gender in these aspects, the framework proposed by legal expert Sandra Fredman for equality as a substantive human right (2014) helps to frame gender as a human right, drawing on the language of CEDAW and the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. The IUCN Gender Analysis Framework (IUCN, 2013)¹⁵ was used to provoke thought on the scope of each dimension of the right to equality.

Therefore, a substantive right to equality in natural resource and landscape governance is now proposed using the following four dimensions. The first two concern substantive tenure rights, and the latter two relate to

procedure and distribution. These are non-exhaustive.

1. Women have an equal right to land and to exercise that right without discrimination;
2. Women have a right to access, use and control natural resources, and to do so safely;
3. Women have procedural rights in landscape governance including via the transformation of patriarchal structures and institutions; and
4. Women have a right to equitable livelihoods and benefits that empower.

These four dimensions are strongly interlinked, which is in line with the principle that all human rights are interdependent and interrelated (UN Vienna Declaration on Human Rights, 1993). Each dimension is explored in the following sections.

1 : Women have an equal right to land and to exercise that right without discrimination

Tenure is one key component for successful landscape governance as it not only defines landowners' relationship to the land, but also clarifies their relationship to other rights holders and stakeholders in the landscape. It is the key to good governance of that land, ensuring that competing interests amongst different land users, stakeholders and rights holders are balanced and that all can derive multiple benefits therein. As such, successful landscape governance then relies on the recognition of the right to land and its corresponding enabling conditions.

The right to property or to own property is enshrined in Article 17 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. CEDAW also contains a provision that calls for the equal rights of women to, "ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment and disposition of property" (CEDAW, 1979). This right exists on the statute books in several countries. According to the United Nations, "at least 115 countries specifically recognise women's property rights on equal terms with men" (Realizing Women's Rights to Land and other Productive Resources, UN 2013),¹⁶ however

14 <http://parksjournal.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/PARKS-22.2-Schreckenberget-al-10.2305IUCN.CH..2016.PARKS-22-2KS.en..pdf>

15 https://cmsdata.iucn.org/downloads/framework_gender_analysis.pdf

16 <http://www.unwomen.org/~media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2013/11/ohchr-unwomen-land-rights-handbook-web%20pdf.pdf>

this is also determined by the unique historical, cultural, economic and national political context in a given state.

Varying statutory and customary systems assist or impede women's right to own and acquire land. However, even if the right does exist, women might be financially excluded from ever having the means to purchase property. In other countries of the world, women are legally prevented from owning or inheriting land, not just by statutory law, but also in pluralistic legal systems, via customary laws and other cultural norms. Some patriarchal societies create a system where men not only hold title to land, but are attributed certain key political functions. Elsewhere, land is not owned nor is the title apparent. Land may have been historically governed and managed through customary tenure systems with no formal title deeds bestowed on individual parcels of land.

International actors stand in a unique position to facilitate national dialogues and create an enabling environment to move toward the adoption of gender-sensitive laws on land tenure and access, which will bring a country in line with their international obligations. Yet, how can a project led by international actors deal with this road block if those actors do not have the mandate to make legal interventions? A first step is to look at the rights that exist for women with regard to land tenure and examine the underlying obstacles to that right. Such discriminatory practices must be probed and the underlying factors examined. This can be done by stimulating awareness via sex-disaggregated data. In the *ejidos* land tenure model in Mexico (communal farmland under a system supported by the state), IUCN research revealed a staggering 93.7% of men holding legal title to land compared

to 6.3% of women (IUCN Environment & Gender Index, 2015).¹⁷ This formal absence of access to land and resources severely limits the fulfilment of other economic, social and cultural rights. Projects can go further and engage national governments. In Ghana, insecure tenure and lack of user rights for vulnerable groups, including women, was identified as an obstacle to a successful implementation of the REDD+ programme.¹⁸ Three strategic interventions were therefore developed to address these gaps: in policy and legislative reforms, in land-use and socioeconomic development, and in sustainable wood harvesting and agricultural practices. The Natural Resources and Environmental Governance Programme implemented by the government of Ghana became the main national vehicle to carry out policy and legislation reforms. This programme worked together with an appointed gender-desk, which was created inside the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources.

Another avenue for projects to engage and support is the advocacy and local women's movements to deliver actual recognition for women on the ground. In Tanzania, the Pastoral Women's Council (PWC) are working to implement the existing land rights for women under the Land Acts (1999). While Tanzania has progressive statutory legislation regarding women's rights to land, Maasai women do not own land nor domestic cattle, and any such property passes to her husband, or his family. Through the establishment of women's national resource committees, the PWC have fostered capacity building, legal training and empowerment of women. This has led to dialogue between the all women committees with government at

17 https://portals.iucn.org/union/sites/union/files/doc/factsheet_tenencia_int.pdf.

18 Mainstreaming gender considerations into REDD+ processes in Ghana IUCN https://www.wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/REDDghana_case_study-1.pdf

different levels and with the male dominated traditional authorities. In 2016, with PWC's support, 160 women in the Ngorongoro District secured plots of land for housing and farming (PWC online, 2019).¹⁹ International actors can work with *pro bono* legal entities

and civil society organisations such as PWC, to support such activities. Thus, achieving equality in land rights is a responsibility that is shared across several actors in a given landscape.

2 Women have a right to use, access and control natural resources, and to do so safely

Intertwined with the right to property is the substantive right to access resources. In the context of poverty and livelihoods, this right is linked to fundamental economic and social needs, and to the right to a standard of living adequate for good health (including nutrition) and well-being (UN Declaration on Human Rights, 1948). CEDAW Article 15(2) requires states to recognise the legal capacity of women as identical to that of men, and afford women the same opportunities to exercise that capacity. In particular, Article 15(2) says that states shall give women equal rights to administer property, and must, "take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development and enjoy adequate living conditions" (CEDAW, 1979). This extends to ensuring that women have, "adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation" (CEDAW, 1979). At the national level in some constitutions, a right to adequate food and to access resources are stated explicitly. Yet, this right can clash fundamentally with nature conservation laws, including wildlife legislation and protected areas laws.

The hard edge of law can be seen when examining case laws in this respect. In Tanzania, an 18-year-old woman who was nine months pregnant, was found to be in breach of the Wildlife Conservation Act, 2009 for possession of government trophies (pieces of lion skin). Despite her defence that she was gathering medicinal items for her other children, the prosecution succeeded in gaining a conviction (fine and suspended jail term) under the Criminal Procedures Act 2002.²⁰ There are different options available for addressing such cases. Innovative protected areas laws can offer solutions. In South Africa, the right to equitably access resources is enshrined in the South African Bill of Rights,²¹ and the country's Protected Areas Act of 2003 specifically allows for access and rights use in protected areas.²² In iSimangaliso Wetland Park, the park authority negotiated agreements that allow 3,000 women to access, use and share natural resources inside the World Heritage site, and to share in the benefits derived from such activities. The ongoing sustainable resource use that is currently allowed involves fishing, low level hunting, and harvesting rushes, reeds, locally-produced incema, ilala, and isikhonkho, not only continuing a rich

19 <http://www.pastoralwomenscouncil.org/rights.html>

20 <https://www.wildlex.org/court-decisions/r-v-cherehani-mayombi-another>

21 Specifically, the right is enshrined in the bill's Chapter 2, section 24.

22 Specifically, the right is enshrined in South Africa's National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Act (57 of 2003) Section 3(b).

tradition of using these grasses for home-use but also crucial for subsistence. Selling these items means joining the local economy and thus removes women's dependency on their male relatives (Kelleher, 2019).

CEDAW stipulates that women and girls should not be exposed to violence (CEDAW, 1979), and states must prevent violence that occurs specifically against women. If projects arise that will restrict access to resources or support the increased enforcement of nature conservation laws, gender analysis activities embedded into the project can examine the types of resources available to women, their access to, control over and dependence on those resources and any gender differentiated use of those resources. If restrictions to resources cause women and girls to travel further for resources, part of such a resource inventory exercise should probe the likelihood of exposure to violence if they are exposed to dangerous and violent situations and places. An inventory of resource use can categorise vital solutions and safeguards for girls and women.²³ This is also in line with the IUCN Environmental and Social Management System which requires that projects present risks and foreseen negative impacts of activities, including on women, and offer credible mitigation measures and other solutions such as gender assessments (IUCN, ESMS, online 2019), (Box 3).²⁴

In Cameroon, a gender and REDD+ roadmap²⁵ was developed as part of IUCN's

Pro-Poor REDD+ Project (see Box 5). This roadmap was the output of a women's workshop on mainstreaming gender into REDD+ processes in Cameroon.²⁶ The workshop carefully examined resource use, access and control, and how women engaged in activities that fulfilled basic necessities, such as water and wood collection for household consumption. The workshop highlighted the fact that women do not have security of access to these necessities. It was also noted that girls begin such tasks during childhood, and access and use is often later dependent on her marriage, which can be lost if her spouse dies. The workshop underscored the different relationships and access that men and women have to knowledge, use and control of forest resources. While women's activities involved harvesting resources such as fish, water, wood and plants, it was mainly for food, medication, home and traditional use, cash crop and subsistence farming and other home uses. Men, on the other hand, carried out prospecting activities, they fished, worked as tourist guides, exploited wood for building purposes and hunted. Women tended to access certain fringes of the forests to obtain non-timber forest products, wood, raw materials for craft work, fish, honey, bark, medicine and aquatic products. Men travelled further afield to access the same products with the addition of wood for industrial use and mineral resources. By examining the resources and their uses, Cameroon's gender roadmap identified ways

23 According to Articles 1, 5, 12 and 13 of the Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognized Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, women's rights defenders, "promote and... strive for the protection and realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms at the national and international levels," through peaceful means.

24 <https://www.iucn.org/resources/project-management-tools/environmental-and-social-management-system>

25 A series of gender roadmaps were developed as part of IUCN's Pro-Poor REDD+ Project to ensure gender-sensitive outcomes in activities. These roadmaps were developed through multi-stakeholder workshops that facilitated dialogue between national policy makers, women's organisations, gender experts, and other actors. They helped trigger discussion of country-specific gender issues and proposed actions leading to gender-sensitive national REDD+ processes.

26 Mainstreaming Gender into REDD Workshop was organised by IUCN in collaboration with the Women's Environment and Development Organisation from 19-21 September, 2011.

that REDD+ would cause risks to women, and created safeguards to prevent the violation of their rights. Such roadmaps must

provide long-term and sustainable solutions for women who depend heavily on the resources.

3 Women have procedural rights in landscape governance including via the transformation of patriarchal structures and institutions

CEDAW's Article 7 obliges states to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country, and that women should be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies. Further, CEDAW's Article 14.2 requires states to ensure that rural women have a right to participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels, as well as a right to participate in all community activities. All of these measures must be explored to their full extent, in terms of being meaningful and practical for women so that they truly empower women's standing and capacity as agents of change. Full and effective participation means having a significant influence throughout a decision-making process. This goes beyond merely taking a seat at the table to ensuring that the enabling conditions are in place, namely that the processes and institutions themselves empower and promote women's agency.

The right to participate should also broach underlying gender inequalities that hinder women from sitting at the decision-making table. Transforming patriarchal structures is a key goal of gender equality. In Siquijor marine protected area (MPA) in the Philippines, the villages of Maite, Bino-ongan, and Caticugan came together

to address the gender dimensions of the MPA.²⁷ Women had been characterised as poachers, as they needed to access resources in order to meet their household and community needs. They also identified outdated and unequal gender stereotypes to including women in MPA management. Male-dominated MPA management, cases of domestic violence and poor access to benefits were the key issues identified during focus group discussions, which invited women and men to discuss the integration of women into MPA management plans. Women now have moved from having perceived passive roles in the home, towards having full and participatory rights in the design, planning and implementation of management plans including the right to decide on the sustainable use of natural resources. Promoting cultural change is deeply embedded in a local context and a true indicator for women's empowerment.

Projects can assist these types of enabling conditions, by identifying and providing resources for the necessary interventions to involve women. This can range from building capacity of women to inform them of their rights, to supporting organised groups of women to meet to discuss with other key governance actors. It could manifest in a practical way such as providing transport, childcare or compensation to women to be able to attend meetings.

27 "Gender Dimensions of Community-Based Management of Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) in Siquijor, Philippines" at <https://panorama.solutions/en/solution/gender-dimensions-community-based-management-marine-protected-areas-mpas-siquijor>

BOX 10 : Statement by women leaders in an Indonesian MPA

In Kei Island, in southeast Maluku, Indonesia, a women's marine conservation group called for the following role in the MPA:

- To recognise and accommodate the needs and concerns of women in MPAs;
- To engage women in active ways in the planning and management of MPAs in Kei, Cendrawasih Bay, Abun coastal area in Papua, MPA in Alor and Seram district;
- To create a coastal use zone managed by women in line with their activities and traditional economic roles as shell and mollusc collectors in the intertidal area (*bameti*), as fish buyers and traders (*papalele*) and fishers;
- Increase the capacity of women to be equal partners in the use and management of marine and coastal resources of the protected area, and contribute to sustainable development;
- Allocate at least 25% of the MPA budget for community empowerment and women's activities; and
- Promote and accommodate the aspirations of women in village regulations and other policies.

Source: WWF Indonesia, Cristina Eghenter, personal communication, 2019

4 : Women, and in particular rural women, have a right to equitable livelihoods and benefits that empower

Equitable livelihoods and benefits stemming from activities in the landscape can range from material to immaterial, and are in many cases gender specific. This includes women's control over their own benefits and their agency, or capacity to act, in relation to those benefits. Article 5 of CEDAW calls for parties to:

“Modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women,” (CEDAW, 1979).

These stigmas and stereotypes are the underlying structural inequalities that prevent women and girls from advancing themselves

or bettering their position in society. This can range from cultural norms around early motherhood, marriage and access to education, to the kinds of labour and tasks that women are responsible for and their position in the family home and community. Projects should therefore caution against benefits that perpetuate cycles of stereotyped roles for women, such as an alternative livelihood working in a service position or receiving cash benefits to act as primary caregiver. Although these interventions are obviously vital lifelines for many, thinking should go beyond a mere short-term benefit towards transforming the status of, and opportunities available to a woman.

In southwest Madagascar, the project Blue Ventures' Population-Health-Environment recognised the link between women's reproductive health and poverty in a locally-

managed marine area (LMMA).²⁸ The project brought together health and conservation NGOs to introduce family planning mechanisms for women of reproductive age, and contributed to a decrease in fertility rates in 2013. The introduction of contraception also challenged existing local, negative opinions toward family planning and women's traditional roles as mothers and primary caregivers. Women now make up more than 85% of the LMMA's management structure. In addition, seaweed and sea cucumber farming provides women with new sources of income, the opportunity to own businesses and alternatives to fishing, thereby improving their well-being and enhancing the sustainability of local marine management efforts.

Article 14(2) of CEDAW establishes a right to have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform. In Rwanda's Volcanoes National Park and Musanze, in the country's Northern Province, 70% of women are involved in agriculture and other areas related to natural resource management, yet major inequalities were evident when considering women's benefits from these natural resources.²⁹ Women did not have control over the income streams. An initiative begun with local women's groups and NGOs and partners that supported the establishment of 12

women's cooperatives. These cooperatives were legally registered and could hold the right to receive revenues from their bamboo propagation zones. This empowerment also led to these women attracting funding for their own projects.

Benefits can go beyond monetary form. This is particularly the case for indigenous women, where financial benefits must be balanced against culturally-appropriate non-financial benefits. In Peru's Bosque de las Nuwas³⁰ region, activities led by women encourage gender equity and demonstrate the capacities of women to conserve their own forest. Women felt that they could contribute as conservation and forest managers while recovering ancestral knowledge. These experiences show how in certain projects, if correct cultural considerations are nurtured, projects like REDD+ can deliver benefits of a cultural nature, and recognise cultural rights. Women ought to feel a sense of well-being and dignity in the work and activities that they carry out. Projects need to work to create incentives and benefits that empower women beyond monetary gain. This requires careful and thoughtful engagement with local women to uncover their needs and capabilities, as well as culturally-appropriate benefits that empower and enable a sense of dignity.

28 "Integrating community health services with local marine management efforts" <https://panorama.solutions/en/solution/integrating-community-health-services-local-marine-management-efforts>

29 "Promoting a gender approach in the conservation of Rwanda's protected areas" at <https://panorama.solutions/en/solution/promoting-gender-approach-conservation-rwandas-protected-areas>

30 https://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/content/documents/cartilla_bosque_de_las_nuwas.pdf.

4.5 Conclusion

International actors such as IUCN are located in the space between hard law and soft policy, giving them a unique position, and responsibility, to leverage both. Characterising gender equality as a substantive human right sets a high bar for projects implementing RBAs in landscape governance. If project activities don't reach for that high standard, results for women can be vague and unsustainable. By pinning these standards to the bar of legal recognition within the context of projects, avenues for improved recognition can open up.

International actors have a responsibility and role to play in making concrete efforts towards changing underlying gender inequalities that

persist. By anchoring gender in laws and political commitments, women can move toward experiencing positive change – change that transforms their lives for the better, instead of unsustainable and short-term solutions that are bound to the timeframe and resources of a project. Large-scale interventions in a landscape calls for an examination of the underlying causes of inequality, protecting women against violence, breaking the cycle of stereotyping, poverty and discrimination, and empowering women and girls to go further. Gender issues in landscape governance are complex, multifaceted challenges requiring a thorough understanding of local contexts. With the right tools and planned interventions, women can benefit from the meaningful recognition of their rights.



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5 : Lessons learnt from rights-based approaches to landscape governance

Gretchen Walters, Jessica Campese, Jenny Springer, Tom Blomley

As we have seen in previous chapters, landscapes can be an ideal unit for planning and decision-making, allowing the integration of various sector plans and programmes across one social, environmental and spatial context. An RBA to landscape governance strives for the highest level of stakeholder participation and inclusion, particularly among women who are often the most dependent on land-based resources. And an RBA approach can foster important principles of transparency, ensuring that duty bearers remain accountable to local communities.

In this chapter, we deepen our observations of the lessons learnt across IUCN's work on RBAs presented throughout the publication (see Box 11 for a summary). We identify the diverse ways that exist to implement RBAs and highlight the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead in landscape governance.

BOX 11 :: Case study summaries from Chapters 2 and 3

The Community Resource Management Area (CREMA) concept from Ghana aims to empower local people to manage natural resources within their vicinity through an elected executive committee.

Landscape level platforms in Cameroon, Ghana and Uganda have been established to provide opportunities for historically-marginalised voices to be meaningfully engaged in decisions relating to landscape governance.

The Trees for Global Benefits programme in Uganda was established to support sustainable landscape management through tree planting in woodlots and agroforestry systems. Financing of the programme is through the sale of carbon credits on the voluntary market.

In the Indonesian provinces of Papua and West Papua, IUCN partner Samdhana Institute has been supporting participatory mapping of customary, communal land tenure claims and identifying opportunities to formalise these claims through government-driven planning processes.

In Cameroon, IUCN has supported more effective communication of REDD+ policies, plans and concepts. Using drama, local radio and locally-based organisations helped ensure that those who are potentially most impacted by REDD+ policies are engaged.

In Uganda, IUCN supported the Community Environment Conservation Fund to introduce measures to increase accountability, disclosure, openness and transparency in its management institutions. IUCN also worked with local governments in Uganda to develop pro-poor and rights-based indicators with which to monitor CECF performance.

5.1 IUCN's implementation of rights-based approaches

In this section, key lessons from IUCN's work on RBAs are organised and presented according

to several themes. These themes touch on the role of institutions in RBAs, the importance of inclusion, participation, and access to information on rights and accountability, and the role of laws and policies in supporting RBAs.

■ Institutions

Institutions, including multi-stakeholder platforms, and community and indigenous institutions hold the potential to enable discussions, deliberation and decision-making that incorporates diverse viewpoints. Institutions and platforms can be viewed differently by project implementers, whether from the perspective of governments, NGOs, beneficiary or implementing communities. Some see institutions and platforms as efficient ways to ensure participation, while others can see them as groups that filter perspectives and have little decision-making power (Myers et al., 2018).

As seen in the case of Ghana's CREMAs or Uganda's CECF, institutions can also be subject to elite capture. In Chapter 2, we presented some ways in which institutions have sought to improve their internal governance and accountability measures. In the case of CREMAs in Ghana, an action-learning process enabled an independent researcher to study the situation. These results were presented back to members of the CREMA, which initiated a discussion about the internal governance issues to be addressed. From there, ways to change the situation were identified, including improving the constitution to ensuring that village-level units of the CREMA were functional. This helped with downward accountability, and ensured that local institutions are sufficiently empowered by law to represent local interests.

Another concern raised about institutions is related to their long-term sustainability. In the case of CREMAs, they are given a mandate without operational funds, and so they depend on external partners or need to source internal funds to function. Such funding makes these institutions subject to the whims of project cycles and to the preferences of their partners, which is also a concern for any organisation working on RBAs (Broberg & Sano, 2018). Becoming financially independent is important to enable regular communication and contact with their members, and increase trust with their political bases (Akwah Neba et al., 2018).

Furthermore, the sustainability of supporting rights after a project ends can be problematic. Having a champion in a national or subnational context can be critical in ensuring that rights continue to be recognised, as in the case of Indonesia's Papua Province.

Finally, institutional linkages across scales, both horizontally and vertically, emerge as an important issue. Institutions at the landscape scale are often impacted by policies and laws at the national level, and so it becomes important to link national dynamics and participate in these fora to ensure that the voices of those represented in these institutions are heard. A good example of this arises in gender mainstreaming (covered in Chapter 4), where women's voices may integrate into REDD+ debates from the local to the national levels, or when participatory maps of land tenure become recognised by the government as in Papua Province of Indonesia.

■ Inclusion and participation

Although participation in conservation and development has been an on-going effort for decades (Leal, 2007), when conservation actors are trying to implement an RBA, deliberate measures need to be taken to ensure representation of marginalised groups. These measures go beyond ensuring that they have a seat at the table. They also entail empowering groups to understand their rights and the potential impacts that policy decisions may have on their particular constituency, and then providing these groups with the tools to ensure their voices are heard, including ensuring that their rights are respected.

Furthermore, the nature and quality of participation that is required by an RBA suggests that superficial consultation is not enough. Groups need to be empowered and have full and effective participation. As we saw in Chapter 2, this was particularly important in Uganda where two different programmes were found to not have benefited the poorest households. The programmes

were then changed to specifically target poorer households for inclusion in the programmes.

When working on gender equity in landscapes, inclusion and participation in decision-making processes or platforms are typical approaches to implementing an RBA. However, one can move beyond this work to focus on helping women in these landscapes to have their rights recognised more formally. This requires a different approach to gender equity, with greater attention to understanding the rights of women in each context, the capacities needed to enforce these rights, and helping women and communities to do this.

■ Access to information about rights and accountability

For people to act on their rights, they must first know about them and have the information they need to understand if their rights are being respected. This can include information on budgets, decision-making or other processes that affect them directly. Accessing and understanding information about their rights is the first step for marginalised groups to change their situation (Soma et al., 2016). At the same time, duty bearers must be held accountable for their actions and rights holders must have the information they need to do this. Understanding one's rights and holding duty bearers to account is an essential building block for implementing an RBA (Broberg & Sano, 2018).

In several of the cases discussed in Chapter 3, access to information about rights was limited and needed strengthening if accountability was to be achieved. In Cameroon, technical information about REDD+ was communicated in the dominant French language, despite many needing it in English, leading to a poor understanding of REDD+ itself and limiting the informed participation of various groups in REDD+ debates. Another instructive example can be found in the roll out of Tanzania's 2005-2015 National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty. Despite being a complex, inter-sectoral process with complicated

technical reports, a short, engaging and easy-to-read version in KiSwahili was created and disseminated throughout the country, which allowed citizens to understand their entitlements.

This example from Tanzania illustrates how effective communications campaigns about revised land rights policies can address constraints on local rights and governance that arise from a lack of accessible and timely information on rights to natural resources. Similarly, in other examples, it is clear that when rights holders and stakeholders are aware of their rights they can better engage in regular elections, enabling them to hold their leaders accountable. The cases presented also show the need to work with duty bearers as well as rights holders on accountability issues. The example from Indonesian Papua illustrates how IUCN's member, Samdhana Institute, identified a local champion within the forestry administration and supported him to introduce new and innovative measures that increased the role of traditional leaders in decision-making at the forest management unit level.

In some cases, accountability of leaders or public officials may be compromised by their lack of capacity, including a lack of training on RBAs or a lack of means to carry out their work. There may be limits to the degree to which duty bearers can be held accountable by rights holders, especially in situations of low capacity and scarce financial resources (Broberg & Sano, 2018). Another example of a deliberate measure to increase inclusion comes from Uganda, where rights-based indicators were integrated into local government monitoring and evaluation systems to ensure, among other things, that staff members were trained in implementing and tracking the progress of RBAs. Such training can lead to greater inclusion of rights in various initiatives.

■ Laws and policies

Laws and policies are a common thread in most of the cases presented throughout this

publication, where laws and policies at a national level may recognise particular issues and so enable action at the landscape and local level. Once adopted, legal frameworks can be seen as a process that enables RBAs (Greiber et al., 2009). As we saw in Chapter 2, the case of tree tenure in Ghana being recognised by the Wildlife Commission helped farmers to plant trees on their farms and secure ownership rights over them. In Indonesia, the recognition of community maps by district, provincial and national governments allowed communities to make land tenure claims and reduce the risk of externally-imposed land-based investments being arbitrarily allocated in community lands without consultation and consent.

Case studies of gender and inclusion in Chapter 4 discussed how laws may enable women's rights to natural resources to be recognised and acted upon, thus reducing discrimination. Although laws and policies enable women's rights to be claimed, when projects only focus on mainstreaming gender into environmental debates, it leads to reduced focus on working with women to understand and claim their legal rights. As discussed in many of the case studies in this publication, legal literacy of rights holders, which includes an understanding of relevant laws, their provisions and the rights

that they support, is an essential prerequisite of community members being able to use legal frameworks to secure rights effectively (see Box 12).

5.2 Challenges in applying a rights-based approach within landscapes

In the preceding section, we considered several lessons learnt from implementing RBAs. This publication focuses on the programmatic approach to RBAs, which tries to bring rights into the practice of an organisation. This type of approach is potentially more difficult than other approaches, as agencies may have simply adapted traditional participatory practice and re-branded it as an RBA (Nelson & Dorsey, 2018). It becomes even more difficult when projects addressing rights must, “appeal to the broadest range of actors possible, which may result in agreeing to the lowest common technical denominator in order to ‘get something done’,” (Myers et al., 2018). This may mean that dealing with some of the underlying causes of rights may be more difficult to handle in project landscapes. Working on rights and governance is inherently messy. While many projects may find it easier in the short-term to work on

BOX 12 : Lessons from Care International on rights-based policy implementation

Other organisations are also collecting lessons learnt in the area of creating laws and policies related to RBAs. For example, in 2009, Care International reviewed their programmatic work around RBAs. They concluded that they needed to do the following to improve their practice:

- Help rights holders to make their claims and also understand how such claims fit into the broader legal context;
- Support legal training and advocacy; and
- Create links between rights holders at the local level and national NGOs to ensure access to various political and advocacy processes.

Source: Blomley et al., 2009



technical fixes, it may be more important for long-term transformation of the landscapes in question to focus on the underlying injustices and inequalities, which, “bubble beneath the surface of initiatives,” (Myers et al., 2018: 321).

The following sections explore some of the main challenges in the context of implementing RBAs to landscape governance. While such challenges can be daunting, there are ways to address them.

■ Power dynamics and historical institutional legacies

Landscapes within which conservation projects take place are part of broader social-ecological systems where governance influences conservation (see Figure 2). In many cases, decisions are not made on a level playing field and some actors, especially duty bearers, may use their power to deny the rights of rights holders. Respecting and promoting rights require that rights holders, duty bearers and supportive organisations have sufficient, accurate information about what the rights are,

and whether and how they are being infringed upon. A key example of this is the conflict between national legal tenure systems and local customary systems. Key challenges include ensuring that marginalised voices can be represented and heard, and that rights holders are sufficiently informed of their rights.

However, the influence of politics on these systems is often underestimated (Orach & Schlüter, 2016). Working with institutions is inseparable from the power dynamics they create or reinforce. This is an issue that has been long overlooked by development debates (Kashwan et al., 2018). In recent reviews of landscape approaches, despite positive views on the approach, there were regular reports of difficulties in building trust, mitigating conflict (Milder et al. 2014), equitable inclusion of stakeholders, and dealing with power dynamics (Ros-Tonen et al., 2018). Landscape approaches are considered by practitioners to be needed when governance is poor; in many cases, the political aspects are an overriding concern (Langston et al., 2019). Nonetheless, landscape

approaches may exacerbate existing politics rather than resolve them (Clay, 2016), reinforce colonial legacies, or attempt to shift to new conservation landscape values (Bluwstein, 2018).

Historical legacies of particular institutions can leave marks on people and their memories within a landscape, as seen in Chapter 2 (Box 6) where past relations between actors continue to influence present-day power dynamics. Even the power that international organisations may hold through the choices they make in field projects can have positive and negative impacts on local power dynamics (Ribot et al., 2008; Ece et al., 2017).

Only recently have landscape-level tools been developed and introduced which can help assess these dynamics and histories, with one example being the guidance on assessing landscape governance (Graaf et al., 2017), which focuses on inclusive decision-making using some of the same principles explored in this publication, namely participation, transparency, equity and accountability. Other guidance, such as that which assesses the governance of protected areas (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2013) and which explores specific questions about culture and history at the local level have been adapted to explore the landscape governance of protected areas (Vidal et al., 2018) (see Box 6).

The Natural Resource Governance Framework (NRGF), as seen in the case of Tanzania, can also be used to explore rights and governance in a landscape context. Power dynamics could be explored in the power and institutions matrix, which explores overt power, the power of agendas or the power of ideas by those organisations which constrain the opportunities of others; for example, by controlling global finance and what is debated. Those organisations can also create opportunities for others, for example, by co-opting debates, crafting institutions, or creating resistance such as facilitating marginalised populations to enter debates or promoting alternative views (Kashwan et al., 2018). There may be other

tools, which can likely be adapted in a similar fashion, but no systematic survey has been conducted to understand which tools these are.

▪ Rights and conservation outcomes as divergent objectives

It can be challenging to balance having a programmatic approach addressing both human rights and conservation outcomes, since at times, these objectives may not align. An RBA is one way to harmonise these objectives (Greiber et al., 2009). Rights pluralism, together with the universality and inalienability of human rights, strengthen RBAs. At the same time, they can be challenging to manage, as there may be legitimate but competing rights claims in the context of scarce or degraded resources (Springer & Campese, 2011), and such circumstances may be difficult to address within human rights frameworks (Hiskes, 2005). Nonetheless, procedural rights embedded within RBAs can provide pathways to identify and equitably discuss and resolve different rights and responsibilities (Laban et al., 2009; Springer & Studd, 2009).

While conservation and human rights can be mutually reinforcing, there are also tensions between them (Knox, 2017; Malmer et al., 2018; Tauli-Corpuz, 2016). An RBA should be adhered to even when it requires reshaping conservation objectives or approaches to ensure rights are respected. Nonetheless, some scholars consider that this is a difficult task and that it may be better to, “protect the inalienability of a minimal set of rights,” such as subsistence and well-being, rather than, “promising the protection of an expansive set of rights,” (Kashwan, 2013). This former view is, in part, what social safeguards in project evaluation help ensure (see Box 3).

However, as RBAs become mainstreamed, there is a risk that they may become rhetorical tools to secure funding, or superficial approaches that recreate inequitable power dynamics where conservation actors solely define the approach. Ensuring a genuine,

empowering RBA may require new approaches to duty bearer and rights holder relationships, including sharing power.

▪ Lack of connections across governance levels

Institutions working on one type of land use in the landscape, for example, focusing on a protected area, can have increased reach if working horizontally – with institutions focused on other land uses in the same landscape. Multi-level governance in this sense helps link governance processes across scales (Hill & Borri-Feyerabend, 2015), or what some call vertical and horizontal governance. This type of governance, as noted in Chapter 2, can be enabled by ensuring that actors from one level participate in processes, supporting institutions from one level to influence or interact with another, and to enable information to flow across levels (Pahl-Wostl, 2009). One tool that can enable these exchanges across actors and institutions, and enable information flow, is landscape-level dialogues about rights.

Dialogue can also be a powerful tool for bringing rights into landscape governance. Sustainable landscapes are societal constructs,

with many meanings for different stakeholders. These landscapes can only be identified through dialogue with stakeholders, rather than through science alone, given the various values held by stakeholders about their landscape (Opdam et al., 2018). Dialogues, especially if oriented around deliberation, can inform debate leading to decision-making. This implies that the discussion is representative and inclusive, and that rights issues can be discussed and hopefully resolved. Dialogue and deliberation can be a way to ensure communication with and across rights holders and stakeholders, and a way to diffuse tension and identify solutions.

In some dialogues or multi-stakeholder platforms, a common vision is sought with stakeholders and rights holders (Berkes, 2010). For this to happen, different voices and interests will need to be effectively represented through lower level institutions. These voices then need to be included in decision-making fora, as seen with the case of landscape-level platforms in Cameroon, Ghana and Uganda. A tendency in developing these visions could be to limit the variety of visions that are naturally part of a landscape and the people in it. A diversity of pathways can be seen in a landscape (Leach et

BOX 13 : Five ways to bring traditional knowledge into policy processes

Mobilise: Develop knowledge-based products through a process of innovation and engaging with past knowledge and experience.

Adapt/Translate: Adapt knowledge products or outcomes into forms appropriate to enable mutual comprehension in the face of differences between actors.

Negotiate: Interact among different knowledge systems to develop mutually-respectful and useful representations of knowledge.

Synthesise: Shape broadly accepted common knowledge bases for a particular purpose.

Apply: Use common knowledge bases to make decisions, take actions and to reinforce and feedback into knowledge systems.

Source: Tengö, et al. 2017

al., 2010) and processes will need to account for that diversity while also finding common ground and negotiating trade-offs in equitable decision-making processes. However, dialogue may be one concrete way in which debates about rights may reach landscape-level discussions, potentially leading to action (Berkes, 2010).

▪ Lack of recognition of traditional knowledge

Important advances have been made in the recognition of the knowledge, capacity and contributions of indigenous peoples and local communities in natural resource governance and rights, particularly where their rights are respected (FPP et al., 2016; Kothari et al., 2012). RBAs may complement and be integrated with other context-appropriate approaches, and should be determined by and with rights holders, rather than being approaches defined or imposed by duty bearers. Such approaches can come from traditional knowledge or customary practices. We saw this case in Chapter 2 (see Box 6) where customary views from northern Ghana could have been better integrated into collaborations, which resulted in the acceptance or rejection of CREMAs.

In many cases, traditional knowledge has shaped the landscapes where RBAs are being implemented. This knowledge can bring an important local perspective and identification of specific issues relevant to sustainable development, conservation and rights (Rozzi, 2012). Although there are increasing calls for bringing this type of knowledge into conservation (Gorrdard et al., 2016; Brondizio & Le Tourneau, 2016), it still appears to be rare in occurrence, with a recent evaluation showing extremely low use of cultural practices and knowledge in restoration projects (Wehi & Lord, 2017) or REDD+ (Myers et al., 2018; McCall 2016). However, recent thinking from the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services and the Convention on Biological Diversity propose five ways to address this lack of integration (see Box 13).

Tengö et al. note that,

“For such experiences to be relevant beyond the local, attention needs to be directed towards engagement of knowledge holders and their institutions, and well-designed processes that build trust and communication across barriers of language, culture, worldviews and experience. Such engagement requires substantial investments of both time and funds for logistics, interpreters, preparation and participation.”

For such knowledge to become a regular part of landscape governance, it will require landscape approaches and RBAs, as well as greater strides in working with local communities and indigenous peoples in their languages and within their cultural contexts. However, in working with indigenous peoples and local communities, it will be import to do so in a collaborative way, with their consent and acknowledge of their right to self-determination.

▪ Lack of understanding the perceptions of rights holders and stakeholders

In both the landscape approach (Sayer et al., 2014) and RBAs (Nelson & Dorsey, 2018), there is insufficient attention to monitoring of landscape approaches. There is little evidence to indicate that an RBA improves people’s lives, despite what projects may claim. This can be the case especially when RBA projects fail to deliver concrete benefits to poor communities. As some rights holders say, “You can’t eat rights.” This presents a challenge in addressing immediate needs in very poor, marginalised communities, while also helping address longer-term rights and governance issues.

Perceptions form an important basis for understanding how people view conservation, and can complement other types of monitoring (Bennett, 2016). Future work in this area can be aimed at assessing stakeholder perceptions about landscape governance and whether

their lives have improved due to improved governance – using approaches such as Sensemaker,³¹ a tool which works with stories from selected participants to draw out their perceptions around key issues (Milne, 2015). Such approaches can work with stakeholder perceptions, by presenting summaries of common perceptions back to the various institutions, which may be claiming to work on improving natural resource management and governance and representing stakeholder groups.

▪ Lack of learning from project implementation

As Sayer et al. (2008) noted a decade ago,

“Conservation institutions must build their capacity to engage with the process of change. They must constantly adapt to deal with a continuously unfolding set of challenges, opportunities and changing societal needs.”

So how can institutions engage with the process of change in the context of rights and landscapes? RBAs are more than a technical exercise. They will often require transformation of the power relationships and other factors that determine interactions between conservation and rights. To understand this change over time, it is also important to have good baselines and high-quality monitoring against these baselines. This can then provide a basis for reflection and learning.

For example, an RBA may require supporting rights holders’ legal literacy, capacity and advocacy efforts (Campese & Borrini-Feyerabend, 2011; Springer & Campese, 2011; NRGF, 2017). Furthermore, adopting an RBA may require a renegotiation of partnerships between conservation institutions and national government organisations. Under needs-based approaches, support to government conservation organisations may be in the

form of capacity-building support, equipment and tools based on their perception of needs. Under an RBA, support may shift to helping communities living around protected areas hold conservation agencies to account (see Table 4). This change in relationship, if not well communicated, can lead to friction and distrust between national-level partners (Blomley et al., 2009).

Working on governance and rights at the landscape level may require changes to transform the landscape. To do that, reflection is needed by a variety of actors. While it may be easier to focus on technical fixes in the field, working on the underlying issues becomes important in the long-term (Myers et al., 2018). One way to do this is through learning which approach can inspire action (Berkes, 2010). Working on improving the rights of people can be viewed as a dynamic process that identifies issues as they arise, rather than just a snapshot approach that may only consider how to respect rights based on a law. For a dynamic approach, one must ask questions about whether interventions and the governance context in which they operate respect, protect, promote or fulfil rights. In answering these questions, one may conclude that they need to change the governance of a situation (Campese & Borrini-Feyerabend, 2011).

Learning can play a central role in promoting change, especially when conceived at three levels of loops, whereby learning can feed back into informing change. Single loop learning allows for small changes, which do not question underlying assumptions. Double loop learning revisits assumptions and makes changes, and triple loop learning challenges and seeks to change commonly held views (Pahl-Wostl, 2009). Examples of each are presented in Table 4.

In the case from Ghana, the action learning process was focused on single and double

31 <https://cognitive-edge.com/videos/introduction-to-sensemaker/>.

Table 4. Learning feedback loops and related change

	Single loop	Double loop	Triple loop
Institutions	Existing regulations followed; Established institutions not questioned	Parties reinterpret institutions	Institutions change; New policies changed or implemented
Actors	Actors stay within networks; roles not questioned	Advice outside of network is sought; New roles emerge	Changes in networks; New actors and roles; Changes in power structures
Governance	No change in governance mode	Participatory approaches introduced; Informal networks influence debates	Learning network challenges dominant governance type; New governance types implemented

Source: Pahl-Wostl, 2009

loop learning, resulting in changes to existing CREMA regulations and challenging the current leadership. It did not change the governance mode, or challenge the concept of the CREMA itself. In some cases, this might be enough reflection to have meaningful change. However, if the same exercise was carried out in the Mole area communities in Ghana explored in Chapter 2, it might have questioned the CREMA institution itself and how it works with customary institutions. One can ask of such processes if the learning improved (single loop); reframed (double loop); or transformed (triple loop) decision-making process on rights (Pahl-Wostl, 2009).

Learning in a participatory way can have drastically different results. There can be change based on the level of loop learning and how participatory an approach is, as well as in what is called a split ladder of participation (Hurlbert & Gupta, 2015). At the bottom-most rungs of the ladder, which are the least participatory, only technical solutions to rights and governance can be found. By contrast, those processes which are the most participatory (the highest rungs of the ladder), with transformational learning, can allow for transformational change.

▪ Lack of a comprehensive governance assessment

For rights to be improved, the governance of the context and landscape must be understood, including its strengths and challenges. Over the last several decades many governance assessment frameworks have been developed within the development sector, and more recently within the conservation and natural resource governance sectors.³² Experience demonstrates that, depending on their scope and approach, governance assessments can contribute to, *inter alia*, (Campese et al., 2016):

- Understanding governance quality currently and over time (MJUMITA and TFCG 2014);
- Identifying pathways for improvement (Booker & Franks, forthcoming);
- Building capacity for good governance (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2013);
- Increasing accountability, e.g., through targeted advocacy (TAI, 2008); and
- Ultimately improving governance systems and outcomes (DeKonig et al., 2017).

³² See, for example, Bennet & Dearden 2014, Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2013; Colfer & Feintrenie, 2011; Davis et al., 2013; Franks & Booker, forthcoming; Heylings & Bravo, 2007; Lockwood, 2010; Oldekop et al., 2015; PROFOR, 2011; Ratner, 2012; The Access Initiative (TAI), 2008; Wilkie et al., 2015

5.3 IUCN's Natural Resource Governance Framework

During the implementation of IUCN projects analysed in this publication, IUCN was developing its Natural Resource Governance Framework, and in 2016 published an initial design document (Springer, 2016). The NRGF is an IUCN initiative created for the purpose of providing a robust, inclusive, and credible approach to assessing and strengthening natural resource governance, at multiple levels and in diverse contexts. The overarching goal of NRGF is to set standards and guidance for decision-makers at all levels to make better and more just decisions on the use of natural resources and the distribution of nature's benefits, following good governance principles, such that improved governance will enhance the contributions of ecosystems and biodiversity to equity and sustainability (IUCN, 2017a).

IUCN's Natural Resource Governance Framework is used by IUCN as one way in which an RBA is being mainstreamed in the institution. Central to the development of the NRGF is an overarching framework of key elements that need to be in place for effective and equitable natural resource governance, with an emphasis on human rights, equity and social justice (Springer, 2016). Indeed, the NRGF may be understood as an application of an RBA to standards and guidance for natural resource governance.

The NRGF is intended to be used in at least two ways. First, it can provide a point of reference to build coherence and integration of rights-based principles across a wider range of governance standards, frameworks and assessment tools in the conservation sector. This means that, in many cases, the NRGF may not be used directly to conduct assessments, but would rather serve to inform the scope and contents of other existing or emerging tools. At the same time, in contexts for which governance assessment tools are not readily available, the NRGF and tools developed from it can be used directly to assess the status of natural resource

governance.

IUCN's NRGF has been developed through an iterative process involving dialogues and assessments in Central America, Asia and eastern and southern Africa. It also considers and builds on existing frameworks to avoid reinventing the wheel. Its development was informed by comparative analysis of thirteen frameworks and standards focused on natural resource governance. The framework seeks to add value by, *inter alia* (Springer, 2016):

- **Encouraging and enabling an RBA:** Respect for human rights is central to the NRGF, as a cross-cutting and underlying value that informs all other aspects. Following from this, the NRGF's principles and criteria promote conservation policies, processes, and outcomes that respect rights and encourage equity and social justice.
- **Being applicable across contexts and levels:** The NRGF aims to provide principles that are broad enough to be relevant across different levels, contexts and sectors, while also being manageable in number, and concrete enough to lend themselves to meaningful assessment (with supportive methods and tools).
- **Being comprehensive:** The framework aims to be comprehensive of key governance issues without being redundant. Criteria, which unpack key aspects that are important to the realization of each principle, can help users develop locally meaningful and reasonably comprehensive guiding questions or indicators in each assessment context.

■ Rights and IUCN's Natural Resource Governance Framework

Central to the NRGF is a set of "key elements that need to be in place for effective and equitable natural resource governance – **emphasizing rights-based approaches, equity and social justice,**" (Springer, 2016,

emphasis added). The framework is comprised of three inter-related components: values, including human rights; principles; and criteria – moving from broad concepts to specific considerations (Springer, 2016). The NRGF principles include:

1. Inclusive decision-making - especially increasing voice and participation of youth, women, indigenous peoples and local communities;
2. Recognition and respect for tenure rights – with particular attention to customary collective rights of indigenous peoples and local communities, and women’s tenure rights;
3. Recognition and respect for diverse cultures and knowledge systems;
4. Appropriate devolution of authority;
5. Strategic vision, direction and learning;
6. Coordination and coherence;
7. Sustainable and equitably shared resources;
8. Accountability;
9. Fair and effective rule of law; and
10. Access to justice and conflict resolution.

To ensure the NRGF is flexible enough to be applicable in multiple contexts at multiple levels, it does not define specific indicators, but rather focuses on elaborating a set of criteria that unpack key best practice dimensions of each principle, and can be used as the basis for elaborating indicators in specific assessment settings (Springer, 2016).

IUCN, through its Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy, facilitated a collaborative natural resource governance assessment in Tanzania’s Kilombero Valley, which is located in the country’s Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor

of Tanzania (SAGCOT). This pilot NRGF assessment aimed to support the SUSTAIN project (see Box 6) in Tanzania by strengthening adherence to an RBA, including social and economic inclusion in SAGCOT.

The assessment jointly considered the landscape and site levels. The process included: scoping meetings with rights holders and stakeholders; background research about natural resource governance in the landscape; participatory analysis of governance strengths, challenges, and recommendations for action; and on-going follow-up.

The results suggested that, on land managed by villages, Tanzanian law and policy generally allowed for collective and individual tenure, devolved natural resource management, locally-informed visions for natural resources use, and women’s and men’s participation in decisions about land (with some notable limitations). However, implementation and enforcement of some of these laws and policies face substantial challenges. Outside of village land, opportunities for community engagement and benefit sharing are limited, including in the many protected areas in the Kilombero Valley. Land in this area is also increasingly scarce, and there are on-going land and resource disputes (IUCN, 2017b).

The review also highlighted a number of governance challenges, many of which relate to access to information, transparency and accountability. Some key concerns are highlighted below.

Access to information and transparency:

Lack of accessible and timely information about natural resources rights, governance, and management was raised by many participants as a barrier to effective and equitable natural resource governance across levels in the landscape. Related recommendations included information campaigns, on the revised land rights policies, community-based natural resource management options, and the SAGCOT initiative. It was also recommended

that training and capacity development support be offered to village and district government officers responsible for ensuring information sharing.

Ensuring accountability: While village by-laws and land-use plans can govern much of the natural resource use at the local level, their full and accountable implementation often requires coordinated action, for example, where fines for certain illegal activities on village land have to be collected by district officers. As one participant put it, the “chain breaks down” in village bylaw and land-use plan enforcement, and as a result, local actors responsible for implementing the bylaws feel undermined. Many reasons were pointed to for such coordination and accountability problems, including unclear processes and allegations of corruption.

Participation, including in relation to land-use planning: While laws generally enable participation in natural-resource related decision-making at the village level, participants raised concerns with the quality of participation for some groups, namely women and pastoralists, and in some processes, including land-use planning. In addition to enhancing participation overall, one specific recommendation was to pilot participatory, integrated land-use planning at the landscape level to better address the rights and interests of both small farmers and pastoralists.

Rights-holder and duty-bearer capacity, and power relations: Insufficient capacities to claim rights and meet responsibilities, as well as power inequalities between communities and investors, and between village and district authorities, were raised as major concerns. Related recommendations included that civil society organisations (CSOs) work with interested communities to raise awareness and build capacity on land and resource-related rights, for example through dialogues, information campaigns, negotiations support, and targeted actions. Another recommendation was that all relevant duty bearers, including CSOs, government, and private actors,

strengthen their capacity for improved governance and RBAs, for example through training on rights issues and participatory processes. It was also recommended that CSOs work to enhance community representation in SAGCOT, including strengthening space for community members in the CSOs that advise SAGCOT on environmental and social issues.

Assessment results and recommendations were presented and discussed with SUSTAIN partners in December 2017, with the aim of strengthening the project. Learning from the pilot assessment will also inform on-going development of the NRGF. From 2018 onward, some of the recommendations are supported by new projects in the landscape.

▪ Future steps towards implementing rights-based approaches to landscape governance

In 2004, an editorial in the influential journal *Conservation Biology* highlighted that in order for conservation to work, much more focus was needed on improving the practice of conservation, noting that,

“Our technical abilities and knowledge have outstripped our ability to recognise and support the social structures necessary for the practice of conservation. Many different approaches may work under different local conditions, but the common denominator among successful approaches should be the strengthening of an institutional framework that is flexible, that promotes the flow of information and networking, and that takes into account human and social concerns as a significant part of the overall strategy,” (Bawa et al., 2004: 860).

Although not explicitly evoking rights and governance, the authors’ foresight to consider similar elements is noteworthy. Today, where are we with bringing social concerns into conservation and supporting institutions? What did RBAs and landscape approaches achieve?

RBAs in IUCN's landscape-scale projects explored in this publication evolved and strengthened over project cycles of more than nine years. IUCN has made organisational commitments to RBAs, and donors are encouraging both development and conservation agencies to embrace rights. More generally speaking, the likelihood of a conservation organisation implementing an RBA has drastically increased, with a good example coming from the Conservation Initiative in Human Rights group, which brings together seven of the largest international conservation organisations.

There has been a stronger engagement with institutions and commitments to help marginalised voices such as women to be heard in fora beyond the site level. Projects are now systematically screened in many organisations using a social safeguard process and new projects may have a stronger focus on RBAs. Increased attention to the landscape approach and the associated role for governance at the landscape level allows for greater space and attention to be given to critical issues around accountability or inclusive decision-making. More clearly defining the scope and content of

the RBA upfront may have allowed for deeper or more consistent treatment of rights issues.

Despite the many examples emerging of how practice is beginning to change, it is fair to say that much more needs to be done to explicitly link the RBA to the landscape approach to ensure better landscape governance. More deliberate partnering with organisations with skills and interests in rights is one way; focusing projects on landscape governance, institutional arrangements and ensuring voice is another. Establishing institutional norms, standards and practices that ensure that rights are mainstreamed into project design, monitoring and evaluation is yet another.

The challenges addressed require new skills, resources, knowledge and collaborations across sectors and with development agencies and diverse groups of scientists, and a willingness to partner with others engaging in complementary RBAs. For rights to be recognised in landscapes, organisations, communities and local governments need to work together to transform governance systems in a way that supports rights at the landscape level and beyond.

Annex 1

Resources to support rights-based approaches in landscape governance

This annex contains key tools that may be useful in applying some of the concepts used in this publication. These are examples of some of the many available resources available.

Resources on understanding and improving landscape governance

The IUCN [Natural Resource Governance Framework](#)³³ (NRGF) aims to provide, “a robust, inclusive, and credible approach to assessing and strengthening natural resource governance, at multiple levels and in diverse contexts,” (Springer, 2016), including in landscapes. The NRGF website provides a number of inter-related resources that can support the understanding and improvement of landscape governance, including an initial [design document](#),³⁴ conceptual papers on particular governance issues, a [working assessment guide](#),³⁵ and reports from regional work and a pilot assessment that inform the framework’s development.

[UNDP’s COMDEKS: Governance of socio-ecological production landscapes, a guidance note and self-assessment tool](#)³⁶ (UNDP, 2017), “provides guidance to organizations involved in landscape approaches on how to understand and improve the governance setting of the

landscape, with a focus on the community perspective.” It includes general guidance on landscape governance concepts and practice, as well as a, “governance self-assessment tool that communities, and their supporting organisations, can use to understand and analyse governance processes in their landscape, and to reflect on possible actions.”

[The Tropenbos Guidance on assessing landscape governance](#)³⁷ (de Graaf et al., 2017) is also a good resource for understanding and improving overall approaches to landscape governance.

Resources on understanding and implementing RBAs in the context of conservation

The International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) publication [Conservation Standards: From rights to responsibilities](#),³⁸ “aims to provide a set of draft conservation standards that outline: how indigenous peoples’ rights are enshrined in international law[,] how conservation interventions can infringe these rights[,] which rights conservation actors need to be most aware of — and why — [,] and conservation actors’ responsibilities in upholding these rights,” (Jonas et al., 2016).

33 <https://www.iucn.org/commissions/commission-environmental-economic-and-social-policy/our-work/knowledge-baskets/natural-resource-governance>

34 https://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/content/documents/nrgf_initial_design_pdf_edited_2.pdf

35 https://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/content/documents/the_nrgf_assessment_guide_working_paper.pdf

36 https://sgp.undp.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=1130:comdeks-governance-of-socio-ecological-production-landscapes-a-guidance-note-and-self-assessment-tool&Itemid=573

37 <https://www.tropenbos.org/resources/publications/guidelines:+assessing+landscape+governance+%E2%80%93+a+participatory+approach>

38 <http://pubs.iied.org/pdfs/14666IIED.pdf>

The FAO *Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security*³⁹ (FAO, 2012) provide widely recognised guidance on improving the governance of tenure across diverse landscapes. The guidelines are complemented by a number of resources that support their practical implementation, including *Improving governance of forest tenure: a practical guide*⁴⁰ (Mayers et al., 2013). They are also closely related to a number of other FAO and partner guidelines, including the *Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication*⁴¹ (FAO, 2015), *Voluntary Guidelines to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food*⁴² (FAO, 2005), and the *Principles for Responsible Investment in Agriculture and Food Systems*⁴³ (CFS, 2014).

*Biocultural Community Protocols: a toolkit for facilitators*⁴⁴ (Shrumm & Jonas, 2012) provides information and tools for communities and supporting organisations in developing community protocols that can help ensure greater respect for the knowledge, interests, and rights of indigenous peoples and local communities, including in production landscape conservation.

In 2018, the Special Rapporteur on the issue of human rights obligations relating to the enjoyment of a safe, clean, healthy and sustainable environment prepared the

*Framework principles on human rights and the environment*⁴⁵ (UNHRC, 2018, A/HRC/37/59), including 16 principles that, “set out basic obligations of states under human rights law as they relate to the enjoyment of a safe, clean, healthy and sustainable environment.”

Resources on understanding and seeking FPIC as part of a rights-based approach

The Forest Peoples Programme (FPP) *webpage*⁴⁶ includes information on the meaning and importance of FPIC, and links to over 20 resources on FPIC, in a variety of languages and with a range of focal audiences. These include:

*Respecting free, prior and informed consent. Practical guidance for governments, companies, NGO’s, indigenous peoples, local communities in relation to land acquisition*⁴⁷ (FAO, 2014)

Strengthening Community Understanding on Free, Prior and Informed Consent⁴⁸. *Trainer’s Manual* (Oxfam, 2014)

*UN-REDD Programme Guidelines*⁴⁹ on Free, Prior, Informed Consent (UN-REDD, 2013)

Resources focused on inclusion and participation

*IUCN’s Responsive Forest Governance Initiative (RFGI) Handbook*⁵⁰ (Ribot, 2016) and RFGI

39 <http://www.fao.org/docrep/016/i2801e/i2801e.pdf>

40 <http://www.fao.org/docrep/018/i3249e/i3249e.pdf>

41 <http://www.fao.org/3/i4356en/I4356EN.pdf>

42 <http://www.fao.org/3/a-y7937e.pdf>

43 <http://www.fao.org/3/a-au866e.pdf>

44 <http://naturaljustice.org/publication/biocultural-community-protocols/>

45 <http://undocs.org/A/HRC/37/59>

46 <http://www.forestpeoples.org/en/environmental-governance-legal-human-rights-responsible-finance/training-tool/2017/resources-free>

47 <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i3496e.pdf>

48 <https://resources.oxfam.org.au/pages/view.php?ref=1323&search=%21collection162&orderby=relevance&sort=DESC&offset=0&archive=0&k=57eef12c4&curpos=6>

49 <https://www.unclearn.org/sites/default/files/inventory/un-redd05.pdf>

50 <https://portals.iucn.org/library/node/46164>

Handbook II: Implementing Improved Natural Resource Governance in Practice⁵¹ (Barrow et al., 2016), give guidance on how to work with communities and local authorities using action learning to improve local governance.

The online archive of the IIED Participatory Learning Action (PLA) Series provides access to four decades of case studies, tools, and other resources related to community empowerment and participatory approaches to conservation and development.

Beyond Fences: Seeking Social Sustainability in Conservation (Vol. 1⁵² and Vol. 2⁵³) (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1997) support conservation practitioners, “to identify the social concerns that are relevant for their work, assess options for action and implement them.” Volume 2 includes a large number of relevant tools and resources, with simple descriptions of when and how they can be used, as well as their relative strengths and drawbacks.

Resources focused on accountability, transparency, and access to information

*IUCN’s Social and Environmental Accountability*⁵⁴ paper (Nuesiri, 2016) is an NRGF conceptual paper that, “explores the principle of accountability, particularly the accountability of powerful actors for the social and environmental outcomes of their decision making about natural resources.”

Resources focused on equity

Understanding and assessing equity in protected area conservation: a matter of

*governance, rights, social impacts and human wellbeing*⁵⁵ (Franks et al., 2018) includes an in-depth and accessible exploration of, “the meaning of equity in a conservation context, and ... how equity relates to the more widely understood concepts of rights, governance, social impact and human wellbeing.” While this document is focused on protected areas, it has wider applicability, including for landscape governance.

Resources focused on gender equity and equality

IUCN Gender Framework: http://cmsdata.iucn.org/downloads/framework_gender_analysis.pdf

<https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/2017-009.pdf>

https://redd.unfccc.int/uploads/2234_15_guidance_note_gender_sensitive_redd_english_final.pdf

Resources on tenure and rights

*Recognition and Respect for Tenure Rights*⁵⁶ (Larson & Springer, 2016) is an NRGF conceptual paper that, “discusses why secure tenure rights for local communities, indigenous peoples and women are central to good natural resource governance and important for livelihoods and human rights, as recognised in multiple international conventions. The paper reviews both challenges and opportunities for securing rights in practice and highlights successful cases of tenure reform.”

The Rights and Resources Initiative (RRI),⁵⁷ “supports local and Indigenous Peoples’

51 <https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/RFGI-WP-035.pdf>

52 <https://portals.iucn.org/library/node/7283>

53 <https://portals.iucn.org/library/node/9007>

54 https://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/content/documents/accountability_paper.pdf

55 <http://pubs.iied.org/14671IIED/?a=F+Booker>

56 https://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/content/documents/tenure_rights_final.pdf

57 <https://rightsandresources.org/en/about-us/#.W4y2lOhKjIU>

struggles against poverty and marginalization by promoting global commitment and action towards policy, legislative, and market reforms that secure their rights to own, control, and benefit from natural resources, especially lands and forests.” Their website includes a virtual [library](#)⁵⁸ of resources for governments, the private sector, practitioners, and communities, including detailed analyses, tenure tracking tools, and maps.

*Indigenous peoples’ collective rights to lands, territories and natural resources*⁵⁹ (IFAD, 2018) includes short case studies, a list of “innovative tools and approaches,” and lessons learnt from the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) work with indigenous peoples and their representing institutions to, “create enabling environments to secure their access to collective rights over ancestral territories, improve the sustainable management of indigenous lands, regulate the community use of natural resources and reduce conflicts over lands and resources.”

Resources on RBAs and landscape governance

*From measuring outcomes to providing inputs: Governance, management, and local development for more effective marine protected areas*⁶⁰ (Bennett & Dearden, 2014).

Indigenous peoples’ collective rights to lands, territories and natural resources: Lessons from IFAD-supported projects (IFAD, 2018).

Natural Resource Governance in Kilombero Cluster and the SAGCOT Initiative: An assessment of key issues and recommendations for action.⁶¹ Report prepared for CEESP and IUCN (IUCN, 2017b).

A global assessment of the social and conservation outcomes of protected areas (Oldekop et al, 2015), published in *Conservation Biology*.

58 <https://rightsandresources.org/en/resources/#.W4y2YehKjIV>

59 <https://www.ifad.org/en/web/knowledge/publication/asset/40272596>

60 <http://www.fao.org/3/i4356en/i4356EN.pdf>

61 <http://www.fao.org/3/a-y7937e.pdf>

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